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A history of the Reformed
church in America

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History of
The
Reformed Church
in America

by

WILLARD DAYTON BROWN
Secretary of the Board of Education, R. C. A.



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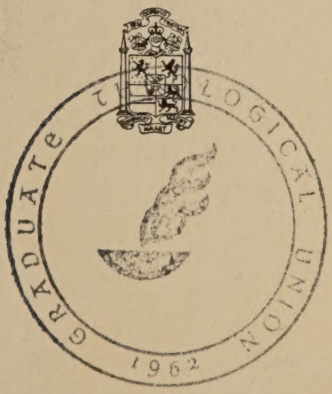
THE CHURCH IN THE FORT

A History

of

The Reformed Church in America

WILLARD DAYTON BROWN
Secretary of The Board of Education, R. C. A.



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25 East 22nd Street
New York City

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TO

THOSE

of the

PIONEER SPIRIT

whether of the past or the present

TO WHOM

new paths have an appeal

new tasks are an inspiration

and the dangers and hardships of uncharted courses

are no hindrance.

327876

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Foreword

THE Three Hundredth Anniversary of the beginning of the Reformed Church in America seems to call for some form of record wherein the constituency and friends of that Church may read at least the outlines of that story of steadfast faith and undiscouraged adventure which brought our fathers to these shores, inspired and guided the leaders of the Church for three centuries and still persists in the heart of the latest recruit in the ranks of the Kingdom who puts his life into the keeping of the King to go, if that be the call, to the end of the earth with the message of the gospel of the grace of God in Christ Jesus, our Lord.

This volume has been produced at the request of the Church. It has taken shape gradually, while other duties were clamorously demanding attention and interruptions were constant. Perhaps this circumstance will account, in part, for the deficiencies and imperfections. These will never be so evident, however, even to the careful reader, as they are to the author, and it is hoped that a mantle of charity may render the most prominent of them somewhat less conspicuous. The book does not aim to present a history of the Reformed Church in complete detail. Its purpose is to offer a readable volume in small compass, giving the outstanding facts of the history and preserving as far as possible the "human interest" phases.

A series of topics for further study in connection with each chapter is appended so that, if desired, it may be used as a text-book by study groups.

Grateful acknowledgement is made of the invaluable assistance rendered by the author's many friends who

have been unstinting in their lending of materials and more than generous in their donations of time and helpful suggestions. It is not possible to single out individuals, but mention must be made of the help so unselfishly given by my colleagues at Church Headquarters, by those in our Seminaries and Colleges who have so graciously assisted with their counsel and advice, by those who have helped in the arduous work of preparing the manuscript and by a number of others whose assistance has been of inestimable value.

The work of preparation has been a pleasure even though done under pressure. All the effort will have been repaid, however, if the book gives to some in the Church or elsewhere even a degree of satisfaction such as the research incident to the preparation of it has given

The Author.

Closter, New Jersey,
April, 1928.

CHAPTER 1.

The Church in the Home Land



The "Half Moon"

THE Reformed Church in America is the direct outgrowth of the emigration from the Netherlands to this country of various groups of colonists who came hither during the slightly more than three centuries that have elapsed since the discovery of the Hudson River and the harbor of New York by Henry Hudson. Hudson was an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, who, in his explorations in the old and new worlds found himself, September 3, 1609, entering what is now New York, or as it was early called, Manhattas Harbor. He explored the river in his ship, De Halve Maen, or The Half Moon, and in small boats as far north as Troy, New York, in the hope of finding a northwest passage through this newly discovered continent to the supposedly fabulous wealth of India. Traders followed this discovery, and then permanent settlers.

For an understanding of the Reformed Church in America—its characteristics, comparatively slow growth, doctrinal positions, government, polity, genius and program—it is necessary to have an understanding of the country and the peoples with whom it originated.

The Reformed Church dates back to that historic struggle on the continent of Europe contemporaneous with or following closely upon the Renaissance, or Revival of Learning, and known as The Reformation. Prior to this period all peoples of the Christian Church were included in the Roman Catholic branch. But intense dissatisfaction



Martin Luther
Studying the Bible

within the Church in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries resulted in the great upheaval in which the Protestant Church was born. The Reformation is generally associated with the name of Martin Luther, but it must be remembered that many others were as active as he, although possibly in a less spectacular way, and credit must be given to these other minds and personalities which shaped the thoughts of people in those times that tried men's souls. Among these other minds are some that are inseparably associated with The Netherlands because of the fact of their birth in that country and of their having lived, written, preached and died there. Some of these are Thomas, known in history as Thomas a Kempis (1380-1471), and remembered for his "Imitation of Christ"; John Wessel of Groningen (1420-1489) designated by his friends as "Lux Mundi," and of whom it is said that he "preached and published views of the Gospel so similar to Luther's that he felt constrained to say, 'If I had previously read Wessel, people might have said that Luther derives his views from him';* and the immortal Erasmus, the scholar of Rotterdam (1465-1536), of whom the monks are reported to have had a saying to the effect that "Erasmus laid the egg which Luther hatched."

Following their separation from the Roman Church it is not strange that this new body of believers, themselves the product of a division, should have found themselves with differences of opinion that severely tested the vitality of the infant enterprise and resulted in further division among themselves. So, early in the history of the Reformation period we have the spectacle of the new Reformation Church divided into two bodies, one calling themselves Lutherans after the great Reformer, and the other

* Young People's History of the Church—*Schenck.*

retaining the name Reformed—the "Re-formed" or "formed-anew" Church—which the whole body had taken at the beginning. The particular point of cleavage came over the question of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the elements used in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Those who followed Luther held that the body and blood of Christ are "in, with and under" the actual bread and wine, while those who followed Calvin, Zwingli and others held that the Sacrament is a memorial, or that the bread and wine are symbols of the body and blood of Christ, and that the real value of the Lord's Supper lies in the spiritual apprehension of His sufferings in the believer's behalf, and the genuine adoption of His attitudes, purposes, desires and program. This latter body retained the name Reformed, particularly on the continent of Europe. In Scotland it took the title "Presbyterian," a name descriptive of the order of government in the new body. A number of more or less significant divisions have since occurred in Protestantism, but it must be remembered that originally there were but two, the Lutheran and the Reformed. The name "Reformed" is still the designation of large groups in France, Hungary and other European countries. The Reformed Church soon became the official church of the Netherlands and remains so to this day.

The Netherlands, or *Nederland,* as the Dutch people call it, or Holland, as it is generally known, is one of the smaller countries of the world, numbering at the present time only about six and three-quarter millions of people exclusive of some fifty millions of souls in its colonial possessions. The area of the country is estimated as approximately 15,760 square miles. Its greatest length is 210 miles and its greatest breadth is 130 miles. It is a land of which nearly one-third has been wrested from the bed of the sea and held from the encroachments of that powerful monster at the price of patient labor and ceaseless vigilance. These low portions are sometimes forty feet below the level of the North Sea, so that passengers on board steamers skirting the coast of the Netherlands

look down on the roofs of houses nestled securely behind the dykes some distance below. After the dykes were built it was necessary to pump the water from large areas, and the windmills that dot the landscape in all directions are kept busy to this day in order to make the pastures dry enough for the thousands of black and white cows, and keep the little farms free enough of water to be tillable. A notable instance of a part of the bed of the sea pumped dry and made fit for the habitation of man is a portion of the city of Haarlem, the former Haarlemmer Meer, or Harlem Sea, where beautiful villas now may be seen instead of stretches of sea. Without doubt Dutch persistence and patient effort will some day drain the Zuyder Zee in the same efficient manner.

This striking energy and patient, persistent effort to attain results are a consequence, or a fruit, or a vestigial remnant of a trait of character inherited from early ancestors. The Dutch are a people descended from the ancient Batavi, whom, it is said, the Romans could not conquer and so made them their allies. Perhaps the impassable morasses of the river deltas in which they lived had something to do with stopping the legions of the Caesars at this particular place, but if characteristics of their descendants in later days are any criterion for judgment, the courage and dogged persistence of these peoples who never knew they were defeated may be taken as substantiating the truth of the old saying. The people of the Netherlands were from the earliest times a liberty-loving people. In the very early days of their known history they are said to have issued an ultimatum to their would-be conquerors in the words "We will be free!" Their intrepid leader, Herman, or German, inspired the respect of the historian Tacitus, who says that Herman was "A man of warlike genius." When Jesus was a youth the Netherlanders were breaking the power of their oppressors and establishing their autonomy. As generation followed generation, their country became the melting-pot of many kinds of people, and with the passing of time the north became Germanic, the middle Flemish, and the southern portion

Celtic. The love of freedom was strong with them, however, particularly in the north. Then, various rulers extended their sway over the land, but none of them could break the power of "The Friesian Law."

Then came the rise to power of Charlemagne and his kingdom, (800–814). When his protective hand was withdrawn, invasions by the Northmen kept the people in fear, and there grew up a feudalistic state of society due to the fact that the people gathered around their respective chieftains, or lords, for better protection. But feudalism never became the rigid system in the Netherlands that it did in some other countries of Europe. The Crusades were the instruments in the hands of Providence by which new light came to the people of the low countries of Europe. The ignorant Netherlander followed his feudal chieftain to the Holy Land on those mad adventures, the ostensible purpose of which was to rescue the tomb of Jesus from the hands of the infidel. The sad story of that ill-starred movement is written in the records of the deaths of thousands by disease, exposure, famine and the wounds of battle, but it is relieved very largely in the general history of the world by the fact that those who were spared to return brought back to northwestern Europe a very much widened knowledge and a broadened culture which were to modify in a profound manner future civilizations. The crude Netherlander returned from those disastrous campaigns, when he did return, not only with greatly enlarged ideas of civilization but with the desire and purpose to make the fruits of such civilization his own possession. A period of great material advancement for the Netherlands was the natural result. He harnessed the winds to do his service; he developed a new science of engineering that reclaimed large areas of land; he built substantial homes of brick to replace his rude wooden huts; he developed commerce and trade, and with these came wealth, luxury and ease. Even his language was improved, this age producing Jacob Van Maerland, known as the father of literary Dutch.

In such circumstances it is not strange that the old

desire for liberty flamed up anew. Then followed a series of struggles to wrest from their unwilling rulers some of the elements of a democratic citizenship. This is the era in which is seen the rise of city charters, the earliest that of the city of Middleburg, granted in 1217. Then political changes came with the entry of the House of Burgundy into Dutch affairs through marriage with the House of Flanders. The Burgundian dukes were quick to use their advantage. The cause of liberty was set back for a time. But these circumstances served also to give an impulse to the study of political conditions and arouse the keener activity. Laurence Coster had invented a method of printing from movable type at Harlem—the Dutch claiming that this was before Guttenberg brought out his invention—and education manifested a revival of interest. Constantinople was captured by the Turks in 1453, resulting in the dispersion of the Greek scholars. In 1477 the Bible was printed in Dutch.*

This was also the year of the meeting of the General Assembly of all the Netherlands at Ghent, which drew from the reluctant Mary of Burgundy the "Groot Priviligie." This historic charter provided for a representative congress that had the power to levy taxes, coin money, regulate business, declare war and conduct it. The liberties of the various cities were fully protected and only natives could hold office. Another privilege was the right of trial in one's own province, and the Dutch was to be the language of all official documents. Those who are interested in the story of the struggle for freedom during the Revolutionary period of our country's history, which gave to us those immortal documents, The Declaration of Independence and The Constitution of the United States, will do well to study these early struggles of the Dutch for political freedom. They will discover where the leaders of the struggle for democracy in Europe and America went for their ideas of popular government. The granting of

* A copy of this Bible may be seen in the library of the Church of St. Nicholas, 48th Street and Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.

the "Groot Priviligie" marked a notable day for the world as well as for the Netherlands.

It was in this year also that by the marriage of Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, who ruled in the Netherlands, to Maximilian of Austria, the Netherlands came under the sway of the House of Hapsburg. Philip, son of Maximilian and Mary, married a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Charles, son of Philip, became the great emperor Charles the Fifth, with Spanish, Austrian and Dutch blood in his veins. He was made king of the Netherlands in 1506, of Spain in 1516, of Austria in 1519, and in the same year was elected Emperor of Germany. Thus, at the opening of the Reformation, Holland was ruled by her own duke, who at the same time was King of Spain, Duke of Austria, and Emperor of Germany, called the greatest and ablest ruler of the sixteenth century. Under the reign of Charles the Fifth of Spain, and especially under that of his son and successor, Philip the Second, the Dutch people were destined to wage another great fight for freedom compared to which their former struggles were but as child's play.

That struggle was to be one for liberty of conscience and religious freedom. The Reformation discussions, with their charges and counter-charges made by both sides, aroused enmities and bitternesses. Roman Catholics hated Protestants and probably vice versa. It is difficult for us of these latter days accurately to estimate the intensity of feeling which marked those days which set "brother to deliver up brother to death, and father his child"; when children should "rise up against parents and cause them to be put to death"; when it could be said of many that they were "hated of all men for my name's sake." The Roman Church was powerful. Her revenues were derived from the state, and were fixed. The Reformed Churches were without state income, and were frequently poor. In practically all cases the rulers were of the Catholic party. Since religion was an affair of the state, the sovereign deemed it his duty to exterminate any and all of those who set themselves up in opposition to the religion of the state.

The result was a grievous condition for the nonconformists in all countries of Europe. They suffered ostracism and loss of property, they met with insult, derision, disgrace and death for the sake of their faith. In the language of Hebrews 11:36 ff, they had literally, "Trial of mockings and scourgings, yes, moreover of bonds and imprisonment; they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword; they went about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, ill-treated (of whom the world was not worthy) wandering in deserts and mountains and caves of the earth." In many places in Holland we can still see the awful prisons and the worse than fiendish implements of torture with which they were tried in order to make them recant. It is a sad and gruesome tale over which we would fain draw the mantle of silence were it not for the fact that it is an integral part of the story of the founding of our Reformed Church in America.

The Gospel had been introduced into the Netherlands at an early date by the gentle missionary, Winifrid, known as Boniface. The names of Willibrord and others are also written in large letters in the religious annals of the Low Country. The first Christian church was founded at Utrecht in 702 A.D. and it is said that within a century from that time the victory of the Gospel over the old gods of the north was practically complete. The papal influence at first was slight, but increased until the time of the Crusades, and then began to wane again, until by the opening of the Reformation period the people of the Netherlands were well prepared for the great change to Protestantism which came about through the teaching and preaching of many. Along with the signs of the political awakening noted above, were the signs of a revival of interest in the discussion of religious truths and practices. At an early period the priests had noted that the country seemed to be filled with "many blasphemous heretics." It is quite possible, of course, that among these there may have been some whose teachings and principles were dangerous and disturbing to faith, but without doubt there were among



HOUSE AT LEYDEN
occupied by John Robinson, Pastor of the
Pilgrim Fathers



WATERWAY BUILT IN THE NETHERLANDS BY THE ROMANS

them others who were high-minded and well intentioned, and who were anxious that the Church should "Walk in the light." Of these, in addition to those mentioned, may be named Jan Van Ruysbroeck (1294-1381), who was a mystic and known as "The best prose writer in Dutch during the Middle Ages"; also Gerhard de Groot, founder of the order "The Brethren of the Common Life," which was a powerful agency in behalf of education and religion.

The stage was all set, therefore, for a bitter struggle when Charles the Fifth became king of the Netherlands, Austria and Spain and Emperor of Germany in 1519. The storm broke almost immediately. Charles was not slow to scent the peril for institutional religion in the dangerous and despised heresies that were so rampant in his kingdom, especially in the north. In 1521 he issued an edict against the heretics of the Reformed faith, the first of a long series of similar pronouncements. Two years later the first martyrs died for their convictions in Brussels. John Pistorius was the first in Holland to yield up his life for the same reason, being burned at the stake in 1525. For another twenty-five years Charles continued his work of attempting to exterminate heresy by putting the supposed heretics to death. He trampled on the rights of his loyal subjects in the Netherlands, and shed much innocent blood. There was no resistance on the part of the people, except protest. The conviction of the divine right of kings was a potent influence among them. "The king could do no wrong." They suffered without much of complaint. Charles misunderstood their patient endurance and, thinking them spiritless, spoke of them as "Men of butter."

But he mistook patient long-suffering for spinelessness. In 1555 Charles abdicated all his thrones and his son, Philip the Second, succeeded to the thrones of Holland and Spain. Philip took up the work of exterminating heresy where his father left off, and carried it to a logical conclusion in a veritable sea of blood. Four years after ascending the throne, Philip left Holland for Spain and his sister, Margaret of Parma, became regent of the Netherlands. Philip sent a large Spanish army into the Netherlands in



Ancient Symbol of the Reformed Church "The Lily Among the Thorns"

1567, and under the Duke of Alva, a most inhuman and cruel leader, the war against the Protestants was prosecuted with consummate vigor and vengeance. It was Philip's proud boast that, in the seven years of his occupancy, he had beheaded or burned at the stake 18,000 Hollanders. Grotius says that during the persecutions of the Spanish Inquisition 100,000 persons suffered martyrdom for the sake of their faith. Those figures may be somewhat exaggerated, but there is no doubt that the scaffold, the stake and the guillotine accounted for thousands of the population who never answered another earthly roll-call. A great many fled to other countries, especially England. It is said on good authority that there were 100,000 abandoned homes in the Netherlands. It was during these wars of persecution and amid these fires of martyrdom that the Reformed Church won its honored names of "The Church Under the Cross," and "The Lily Among the Thorns."

It is not to be supposed, however, that the passive resistance so noticeable during the reign of Charles the Fifth continued during the incumbency of Philip the Second. Too much, of course, cannot be expected of human nature. The first organized resistance came during the reign of Philip the Second. A band of noblemen made up of both Catholics and Protestants united for mutual protection against the Inquisition. No doubt they expected to be obliged to defend themselves and their property by organized force. But they began with peaceful efforts, trying to win by means of reason and irenic persuasion what seemed to them the rights of individuals. They presented a petition to the throne, which asked that the Inquisition be suppressed and that all edicts against freedom in religion be repealed. They walked all the way to Brussels

and humbly presented the petition to Margaret, the Regent. About all the satisfaction they received was to hear a nobleman standing at Margaret's side refer to them as "Beggars." They seized upon the name eagerly and formed themselves into the "Confederacy of The Beggars."

Then followed organized resistance on the part of the cities and provinces, and in 1579 the foundations of the Dutch Republic were laid in "The Union of Utrecht," which was a confederacy of the seven provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Gueldres, Utrecht, Frisia, Overyssel and Groningen. In 1581 this republic of states issued its Declaration of Independence which was similar in essential principles and spirit to our own, proclaimed nearly 200 years later (1776), and for which it served as a model. William the Silent, Prince of Orange, became the Stadtholder of the Netherlands, a revered leader whose name is forever held in grateful remembrance in Holland and the Reformed Church and whose line is perpetuated in the present ruling house of The Netherlands.

William had been brought up as a Roman Catholic. He was a close confidant of Charles the Fifth and commander of Charles' army on the French frontier. While representing Holland at Paris in 1560, Henry the Second of France revealed to him a plot on the part of Philip the Second to massacre the Protestants. William was greatly shocked, but gave no sign of his emotions, either by word or otherwise, from which circumstance he received the title "The Silent." He protested to Philip in 1563, and when his protest was unheeded he withdrew from the Council. He was summoned before Alva's "Court of Blood," but refused to appear. Then he organized his armies and fitted out his fleets. Towns and provinces joined under his leadership. These "Sea-Beggars" were successful against the Spaniards. Philip and Alva could not conquer them, and so plotted the death of William the Silent on the theory that with the leader dead the cause would be lost. In 1584 William was shot dead in his home at Delft as he came from the dining room at the

close of the evening meal, by an assassin who was lurking in the shadows of the portico for that purpose. The leadership then fell upon Prince Maurice, his son, a very able general. Under his command, and aided by England, in about ten years the Spaniards were driven from the Netherlands.

Many heroic tales might be told of the awful struggles of these years. Perhaps the most dramatic is that of the siege of Leyden which occurred in 1574. A Spanish army under Valdez laid siege to the city. The garrison held out stubbornly. The inhabitants suffered greatly. William the Silent was unable to come to their assistance. The long days wore on. Food became scarce. The plague carried away thousands. Motley is authority for the statement that food supplies were so low that dogs, cats, rats and other vermin were esteemed luxuries. Starved humans contended fiercely with the dogs for bits of food found in the gutters. The green leaves were stripped from the trees and hungrily devoured. Hope was fast receding. Yet the people held out. Some murmurings were heard. Burgomaster Van der Werf was besought by a crowd of people in the public square. Waving his felt hat for silence he spoke thus to them—his statue with these immortal words upon it may be seen in Van der Werf Park in Leyden—"What would ye, my friends? Why do ye murmur that we do not break our vows and surrender the city to the Spaniards?—a fate more terrible than the agony which she now endures. I tell you I have made an oath to hold this city, and may God give me strength to keep my oath! I can die but once; whether by your hands, the enemy's or by the hand of God. My own fate is indifferent to me, not so that of the city entrusted to my care. I know that we shall starve if not soon relieved; but starvation is preferable to the dishonorable death which is the only alternative. Your menace moves me not; my life is at your disposal; here is my sword, plunge it into my breast, and divide my flesh among you. Take my body to appease your hunger, but expect no surrender so long as I remain alive."

The account goes on to relate that William directed from a sickbed the cutting of the dykes so as to float his ships to the relief of the city. The siege was raised amid great rejoicing. As a reward for their fidelity he offered the people of Leyden the choice of remission of taxes for a period of years, or a university. They chose the university. At this university were educated practically all of the ministers who served our Reformed Church in America in the early years of its existence on this continent.

Holland was thus the first nation of Europe to fight out and win her struggle for civil and religious liberty. For that reason the country became an asylum for the persecuted and oppressed of all nations. They flocked thither in large numbers to escape the distress in their own lands. The Huguenots came from France, the Palatines from Germany, the Pilgrim Fathers from England and the Covenanters from Scotland. Many of the settlers of New York and New Jersey came hither by way of, or after a shorter or longer residence in the Netherlands.

From a background such as this the Reformed Church in America sprang. It will be readily seen, even if we go no further than such a brief sketch, that America owes much to the Netherlands. The contribution is no mean one. What that contribution is has been well summed up in a small volume written by the author's sometime teacher, Dr. Ferdinand S. Schenck, and entitled "A Young People's History of the Christian Church," as follows:

> "In our own land we owe largely to Holland these five foundation principles of our self-government; (1) Public education; (2) The people the source of authority; (3) Representative legislative bodies; (4) The union of sovereign states; (5) A written constitution. We owe these principles, not so much to England through the Puritans of New England as to Holland through our forefathers in the Empire State. Douglas Campbell says, 'It is a curious fact that we have scarcely a legal or political institution of importance which is of English origin.' Taine, speaking of the early years of 1600, says: 'In culture and instruction as well as in the arts of organization and government, the Dutch were two centuries ahead of the rest of Europe.' Motley says: 'The Hollanders are the most energetic and quick-witted people in the world.'

"But it is not only in civil liberty that we are indebted to Holland; our main indebtedness is for religious liberty. The States General declared, 'that all religions ought to be tolerated and that all restraint in matter of religion is as detestable as the Inquisition itself,' and in their written constitution the rights of conscience are guaranteed to all people."

We shall see how this principle kept asserting itself repeatedly in the first one hundred and fifty years, at least, of the history of the new colony of New Netherland.

CHAPTER II.

The Church in the Wilderness

It is practically certain that there were scattered peoples in the region of what is now New York and New Jersey prior to 1624 when thirty families, mostly Walloons—the 300th anniversary of whose coming was celebrated quite elaborately in 1924—came over under the auspices of The Dutch West India Company. There may have been only a few traders' huts here and there, but we know that there was a well-established and flourishing trade with the Indians, glittering baubles, blankets, etc., being given in exchange for valuable furs, and in all probability adventurous souls remained in the new country from a period following closely upon Hudson's discovery in 1609.[1] When the Dutch West India Company began in earnest to seek colonists for the new land, they found some thirty families of Walloons and Dutch who were willing—some historians claim that their willingness was heightened by the attitude of the Dutch who were quite content that they should go—to try their fortunes in the new world. These Walloons are described* as being originally a Romance people of Galician and Teutonic descent, who had crossed the French border and settled in Belgium. Their language was an old dialect of the

[1] DeLaet, the contemporary historian of the Company, says: "Our countrymen have continued to make voyages hither each year (since 1609), *and continuously some of our people remain* there for the purpose of trafficking with the natives." (N. Y. Col. Doc. II, 133) "Account of New Netherlands," given in 1660 to the States General refers to trade privileges granted Oct. 11, 1614, and speaks of "The fort built in 1615 on Manhattan Island, and the garrison, *and the people who remain there* to carry on trade with the Indians, and that *this continued and was maintained* till 1621, when the country was put into the charter of the West India Company."

* Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York, footnote I.36.

French. Many of them had embraced the Reformed faith and, hence, were obliged to flee. They were expelled by Spain from the Catholic Netherlands, many of them settling in Holland, some going even as far as England. In 1621 certain of them petitioned the King of England for the privilege of settling in Virginia. (See Petitions, Colonial Documents, III, 9). This petition was not granted. Later a petition was presented to the States General of the Netherlands—perhaps by the same group—to settle in the West Indies. This petition was viewed favorably by the States General and permission given. They are said to have been a people of rather "high and aristocratic notions; they wished to live as nobles, in a kind of feudal system, and asked that they might be granted, in the new country, certain extraordinary and exclusive privileges for themselves and their descendants." It is quite possible that after three failures with the English they had materially modified their demands, which accounts in part for the favor with which their request was viewed in the Netherlands. Other writers contend that the name Walloon is equivalent to "foreigner" and was applied to many peoples of various races who had fled to Holland to enjoy freedom of conscience and worship.*

Wassenaar is authority for the statement that they came to America in the good ship *New Netherland,* Cornelius Jacobs of Hoorn the skipper; that they sailed by way of the Canaries and reached the Hudson River. Probably they never settled on Manhattan but rather on Nut, or Governor's Island, on Staten Island, and at Wallabout (Walloons' Boght, or Cove.) Eighteen families were taken up the river and settled at Fort Orange. They were familiar with the Dutch language and habits of life and

* "Other companies of refugees for conscience' sake besides 'The Pilgrim Fathers of New England' were in Leyden; for the city was then recovering grandly from its famous siege. The cloth trade attracted work-people from many countries, who had churches according to their own tastes. All these, whatever their language, were 'Walsh' or 'Walloons'—that is, foreigners. Out of Leyden came the first colonists who settled both New England and New Netherland."
—Griffis, Story of New Netherland, p. 22.

thought, and were quite at home in the Dutch Church services. When the first Dutch Domine arrived from the Netherlands they were found among those who came to his services of worship, and united with the new church enterprise although he was obliged to conduct the communion service at a later time, for a group of them, in the French language.

The actual and effectual settlement of New Netherland was made by the Dutch. It was Dutch trading vessels that kept entering the great "River from the Mountains," as they called the Hudson, and Dutch traders who remained in the country. It was under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company that the thirty families of Walloons came in 1624. Succeeding settlements were largely by the Dutch for some years. The colony was characteristically Dutch for the period prior to the English occupation in 1664. It remained strongly Dutch for some time after that. The Dutch Church was an integral part of the colonial life. This is not to imply that only Dutch people were to be found in the colony. Many others were there. The city early gave signs of its permanently cosmopolitan character. But the great majority were Dutch.

The first ordained minister, Reverend Jonas Michaelius, arrived in America on April 7, 1628, after a long, stormy and quite unsatisfactory voyage. He was sent over from the Classis of Enckhuysen, within the boundaries of which The Dutch West India Company operated. Later, as the business of the Company gravitated more and more toward Amsterdam, authority over religious affairs in New Netherland was assumed by the Classis of Amsterdam, with the records of which the student of the history of this subject must deal. Domine Michaelius came in accordance with the provisions that were written into the charters of all the Companies operating out of Holland, to the effect that owing to the long absence of sailors from home the Companies must provide chaplains who were to serve on shipboard or otherwise, ministering to the spiritual needs of the expatriates. It was also required that when colonists were sent out they should be provided with a minister at

the expense of the Company, and religious privileges were to be extended to them according to the Reformed order. These provisions were written into the charter of The Dutch East India Company but were inadvertently omitted from the charter of the West India Company when the latter was drafted. In 1624 the Consistory of Amsterdam called the attention of the Directors of the Company to the omission, and the Directors resolved that in the future "Attention to religious services be paid both on shipboard and on land." They then requested the Consistory to recommend to them a suitable Comforter of the Sick. Bastiaen Janszoon Krol was recommended and sent to New Netherland, arriving March 8, 1624.

One more reference will suffice to indicate the zeal for religious privileges which animated the Dutch in their attitude toward their seamen and colonists. In 1629, when the matter of patroonships was being discussed, it was stipulated that "The Patroons and the colonists shall, in particular, and in the speediest manner, endeavor to find out ways and means whereby they may support ministers and schoolmasters, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cool and be neglected among them, and they shall, for the first, procure a Comforter of the Sick there." (Col. Doc. N.Y. II, 557; Laws and Ordinances of New Neth. 9.) This will explain why we find Bastiaen Krol and Jan Huyghens, Comforters of the Sick, coming to this country in advance of the first ordained minister. When a minister was not available the Comforter of the Sick might serve people who needed spiritual ministrations. These Comforters of the Sick could read consolatory passages from the Scriptures and offer prayer for the comfort and restoration of those who were ill. They were to offer the usual prayers morning and evening, also before and after meals; instruct the people according to the necessities of the case; and admonish out of the Scriptures those who needed it, as well as those who might desire exhortation. In the absence of a minister they could conduct church services, reading the scriptures and prayers and a sermon of some regularly ordained minister.



Purchase of Manhattan Island by Governor Minuit

In 1625 New Netherlands was made a province with a seal. Peter Minuit was appointed Director-General. Minuit immediately set himself to study the needs of the colony and arranged for the shipment of various kinds of seeds, domestic animals and implements and African slaves. He began his actual residence in the colony in 1626. An old story relates that one of his first acts was to purchase the Island of Manhattan from the Indians for the equivalent of twenty-four dollars. This story has recently been questioned, but it would be quite in accord with the character of the efficient and methodical Director-General. Besides we have documentary authority for the story in the actual directions of the Company to him.* Minuit, or Minewee as he sometimes writes his name, had been an elder in a French Reformed Church in Wesel, where he had been born and brought up, and without doubt he felt as keenly as any the lack of the ministrations of an ordained pastor in the restricted life of the new country. Bastiaen Krol returned to his labors in New Amsterdam with him, as did Jan Huyghens, his brother-in-law, who was also a Comforter of the Sick and had been a deacon in a Dutch Reformed Church at Wesel.

Jonas Michaelius was born at Grootebroeck in 1584, was a graduate of the University of Leyden, and had served one of the Churches Under the Cross at Brabant. He was pastor also at Nieu-Bokswoude in 1612, at Hem in 1614, and had served as chaplain on the coast of Guinea before coming to New Netherland. He was a man of energy and immediately on his arrival began a survey of his

* The Van Rappard Documents (6) show that Minuit was not to take anything by force, but pay for what he took.

field of labor. This was not by any means a difficult task, for New Amsterdam at that time was hardly more than a little cluster of rude houses or huts—about thirty in number—at the lower end of the island, probably near what is now Bowling Green. He proceeded at once to the organization of his church. Ordinarily, in the practice of the Reformed Church, this is done by a committee of a classis within the bounds of which the new church is found, which is empowered by action of the classis to meet with the people who desire to be organized into a church, receive the letters or certificates of church membership of such as join by that method, hear the confession of faith of others, supervise the election of elders and deacons from their number, and then declare the congregation constituted into a church. But there was neither Classis nor committee of Classis at that time. He, therefore probably summoned the people to a convocation, examined their certificates of church membership, heard their confessions of faith, supervised the election of a consistory composed of Peter Minuit and Jan Huyghens as elders and Bastiaen Krol as deacon, and declared the church an organized body with minister, elders and deacons according to the Reformed order. He then administered the communion of the Lord's Supper. He writes of this Communion Service in a letter dated August 11, 1628, as follows:

"At the first administration of The Lord's Supper which was observed, not without great joy and comfort to many, we had fully fifty communicants, Walloons and Dutch, a number of whom made their first confession of faith before us, and others exhibited their church certificates. Others had forgotten to bring their certificates with them, not thinking that a church would be formed and established here; and some who brought them had lost them unfortunately in a general conflagration, but they were admitted upon the satisfactory testimony of others to whom this was known, and also upon their daily good deportment, since one cannot observe strictly all the usual formalities in making a beginning under such circumstan-

ces." In this case "red tape" was cut expeditiously and effectually.

The first meeting-place of the little congregation was in the loft of a horse-mill standing at what is now the rear of 26-28 South William Street. Later, the first actual church building was erected at what is now 39 Pearl Street. This building was of a very simple, even severe design, but it served the needs of the congregation for some years, until the incumbency of William Kieft as Director-General of the colony. At this time there were many who felt the incongruity of their barn-like church building which, in reality, did not present a very attractive appearance, especially in the eyes of people of other religious beliefs who were beginning to arrive in New Amsterdam. So it happened that at the marriage of the step-daughter of Domine Everardus Bogardus, who succeeded Domine Michaelius in 1632, when the guests of the wedding and the Director-General himself had become quite merry with the festivities of the occasion, it was seriously proposed to or by Director Kieft that subscriptions for a new, suitable and appropriate church building be taken then and there. In high spirits the Director-General headed the list with a generous subscription and others followed at his enthusiastic urging, some, it has been said, subscribing amounts which, on after and soberer thought, they had cause to regret. There is no record, however, that any of these subscriptions were voided, and it may be assumed, therefore, that no one was any the worse for his subscription. The church building which was erected as a result stood within the fort, the corner-stone inscribed: "An. Dom. MDCXLII, W. Kieft Dr. Gr. Heeft de Gemeente desen Temple doen Bouwen." "In the year of our Lord, 1642, William Kieft, Director General, caused the congregation to build this temple." With the growth of the city in the years that followed through the three centuries, other buildings for Reformed congregations have been erected as needed and congregations have been gathered from time to time in various centers—the Garden Street Church, the Middle Church, the North Dutch

Church and others. At the present time there are congregations worshipping in some ten buildings under the name of The Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church of New York which is the direct descendent of *The Church in the Fort*. In addition, the Reformed Church of Harlem (The Harlem Collegiate Church originally), has two congregations worshipping at the same number of centers in the Harlem section of the city. Other churches of the Reformed order, but not a part of the Collegiate System, have been organized from time to time. From small beginnings the Reformed Church thus spread.

As already stated, Fort Orange had been settled contemporaneously with New Amsterdam. From the point of view of religious privileges it had enjoyed the services of a Comforter of the Sick in the person of Bastiaen Krol, who acted also in the capacity of agent for the Dutch West India Company at that place and was a deacon of the consistory at New Amsterdam. At Fort Orange was essayed a scheme for colonization that savored strongly of feudalism: namely, the patroon system. Any responsible person who would agree to bring over and settle fifty colonists over fifteen years of age was to be granted certain "freedom and exemptions," and given a tract of land extending along the banks of the river for eight miles on either side or sixteen miles on one side and running back from the river "as far as the situation of the occupiers would permit." One of those who signed such an agreement with the Dutch West India Company was Killiaen Van Rensselaer, who commissioned Bastiaen Krol, as agent for the Company, to purchase for him from the Indians such a tract along the Hudson River near what is now Albany. This was at the very door of the "Long House" of the Iroquois country. Van Rensselaer sent over his colonists and Fort Orange, which was also called Beverwyck, became Rensselaerswyck, so named for the Patroon; but be it said that the patroon system which was designed largely for the advantage of the Company and the Patroon, with a practical disregard for the colonist, was never a great success on the soil of America. Van

Rensselaer and Van Curler were themselves too far above the feudalistic designs of the system to make it the success desired by those whose eagerness for profit had inspired the formulation of the plan. Many colonists were lost to New Netherland because they preferred to go elsewhere and hold their land in fee simple rather than come here and be a mere tenant on patroon-owned acres.

The first church at Fort Orange—the present First Reformed Church of Albany, North Pearl Street and Clinton Square—was organized in 1642 by the Reverend Johannes Megapolensis, who came over under the auspices of Patroon Killiaen Van Rensselaer, who agreed to pay him a salary of 1000 guilders, together with thirty schepels (22½ bushels) of wheat and two firkins of butter, per year, and to increase this to 1200 guilders per year after the first year, if his services were satisfactory. A substantial church building was erected during the next year, and Domine Megapolensis labored zealously for the souls of the colonists and of the Indians, to whom he gave much of his time and strength, being in actuality the first missionary to the Indians in this country. At first, the natives were not inclined to reciprocate with much interest in religious affairs. They laughed at the colonists' order of worship and their prayers. They wondered why one man did all the talking at this "Council Meeting" while the others sat so still and had no opportunity to join in the "Pow wow." Later, many of them united with his church.

By 1652 settlement had been made at the mouth of the Rondout Creek, so named because a "Ronduit," or circular fort had been built there. This was the beginning of what is now Kingston, New York. In 1660 the first minister came to serve the church at Rondout, which had been organized the year before. Prior to this the settlements on Long Island at Midwout (Flatbush), Amersfoordt (Flatlands) and Gravesende had appealed for ministerial services. In 1654 the Reverend John T. Polhemus became pastor, and churches were organized in these places. Domine Polhemus had been a missionary of the Dutch Church in Brazil before his coming to New Netherland.



Reformed Church, Harlem, N.Y. Erected 1686, destroyed during War of Revolution

He was immediately settled over the churches of these Long Island villages. It is said that the people were somewhat indifferent to his coming at first and allowed him to live that year in quarters which were hardly fit for a civilized man. But on the solicitation of Director-General Stuyvesant he soon received a more cordial welcome and remained pastor on Long Island until his death in 1676.

In 1660 the Reverend Henry Selyns and the Reverend Hermanus Blom arrived from Holland together. Domine Selyns settled in Breuckelen (Brooklyn), where there were twenty-four church members out of a population of one hundred and thirty-four souls, this date marking the organization of the First Church of Brooklyn. Domine Blom settled at Rondout, where the church had been organized the year before, although it was said that "There was plenty of everything except people" there. Blom remained at Rondout about seven years, and was succeeded by the Reverend Peter Tesschenmacker, who perished in the Indian massacre at Schenectady in 1690. We shall note him later in another connection. It is related that Domine Selyns was so popular in Brooklyn that—according to Corwin—for four years the East River was filled with boats on Sunday morning carrying people who were leaving the services of The Church in the Fort conducted by Domine Megapolensis or Drisius, and coming to Brooklyn to enjoy the eloquence of this young divine. He returned to the mother country just before the English Occupation in 1664, but was back in this country in 1682, when he became the scholarly pastor of The Collegiate Church, to remain in that capacity until 1701.

In the same year in which the church was organized and Domine Polhemus settled in Brooklyn—1660—other



To the Honourable

RIP VAN DAM. Esq

PRESIDENT of His Majestys Council for the PROVINCE of NEW YORK

This View of the **New Dutch Church** *is most humbly*
Dedicated *by your Honours most Obedient Servt* Wm Burgis

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF PRINT PUBLISHED 1731

Engraved by W. HOWLAND.

churches were organized at Bergen in New Jersey, Harlem, Stuyvesant's Bouwerie, and St. Thomas, West Indies. Domine Polhemus is remembered, in particular, because he was the first one to suggest that these churches in America ought to be joined in a classis with the rights, privileges and prerogatives of a classis—a suggestion which was not acted upon at that time and which was destined, when it came up later, to produce no end of discussion in the church here and in the Netherlands, to result almost in the destruction of the Reformed Church in the American colonies, and to divide brother against brother, household against household, until finally, under the leadership of that sweet spirit of God abiding in the Reverend John H. Livingston, D.D., these American Dutch churches were to secure their independence of the Classis of Amsterdam, build their own educational institutions, and educate and ordain their own candidates for the ministry. Domine Polhemus was a century ahead of his times in this respect, and his suggestion was not heeded. But he was right, as far-visioned souls usually are. Had he been able to bring that wish to fruition in his day, the church would have been spared a bitter experience three generations later.

But before that time was to come, the colonies, and particularly the Dutch colony and church, were to pass through many vicissitudes. Hardly were the colonists fairly well established on Manhattan Island than, on a beautiful morning in September, 1664, four English frigates appeared in the harbor, anchored in full view of the little colony, broadside to the land, and, with the guns removed to the land side of the boats, trained those guns on the little fort and demanded the surrender of the place. Director-General Stuyvesant was obdurate and would have held out to the bitter end, which would have meant certain death to himself not only, but also to countless innocent non-combatants; but wiser counsels from the lips of the two Domines Megapolensis, father and son, prevailed. The colony surrendered without bloodshed and Dutch rule in America ended forever, with the exception of a few months in 1673–4.

Conditions in the colony were favorable to surrender. The Dutch were themselves distraught with resisting the encroachments upon their civil rights of a profit-obsessed Company and a Director-General who was an aristocrat of the aristocrats, with small regard for much else than to carry out the inflexible will of the Company. The Dutch West India Company was tottering into bankruptcy. The New England Colony to the north was estranged from New Netherland and numbers of them are said to have joined the English forces on their way to the capture of New Netherland. The untruthful and unscrupulous Charles II of England, as a refugee in Holland, had solemnly promised that he would respect the rights of the Dutch when he regained the throne of his deposed and beheaded father. No sooner, however, was he crowned King of England in the Restoration than he forgot his promises and, plotting with his brother-in-law, the Duke of York, to whom he promised New Netherland when captured, fitted out a fleet with the purpose of wresting this prosperous colony from the Netherlands and adding it to the English domain. Even so, he did not keep faith with James, Duke of York. While the fleet was on its way to America he gave the New Jersey and Delaware portions of the colony to Lords Berkeley and Carteret.

The Dutch ambassador at the English Court protested vigorously against "This robber-like seizure without any shadow of right in the world." But he had his trouble for his pains. About the only satisfaction which he received —if such it may be called—was "Impudence and a lying disclaimer of responsibility." "Brave Little Holland" was soon at war again, not only with England but with France as well. It was almost too much for even the intrepid Netherlanders. In 1672 they found themselves at bay at the very gates of Amsterdam, with a force of French soldiers, outnumbering their own ten times, forcing the fighting. At this point the twenty-two year old grandson of William the Silent, William the Third of The Netherlands and later William the Third of England, took command and drove the enemy from the fatherland. Dutch

fleets on the high seas captured English vessels by the hundreds. Admirals Evertsen and Benckes wrought the vengeance of the Dutch in American waters and appeared in the harbor of New York in 1673. They too anchored their ships and trained their guns upon the fort, as the English frigates had done in 1664, and announced to those in authority, "We have come for our own and our own we shall have!" No one was found in the city who would volunteer to aid in the defense of it. Admiral Evertsen is said to have placed an hour-glass on the bridge of his flag-ship and notified the English commander that unless he surrendered before the glass had run out he would fire on the fort. It was not necessary to shoot. New York became New Orange, and great was the rejoicing therein. But it was destined to remain so for a brief period. The Peace of Westminster, concluded in 1674, gave New Netherland back to the English, and then—and not in 1664, the date of the piratical seizure—ended the dream of a Dutch empire on American soil, rivalling that of the fatherland in Europe.

We ought to stop here for some appraisal of the Dutch, their character and their accomplishments in New Netherland and America. We make a suggestion. Caution must be uttered against taking our conceptions of the Dutch in this early period of the history of New Amsterdam from the caricatures of them by such as the fictitious Diedrich Knickerbocker. Irving naively says that his Diedrich was "Not entirely in his right mind." New Netherland was settled, on the whole, by as keen, high-minded, cultured and educated a people as ever came to America in any days. It was a rich and prosperous colony on which the English cast greedy eyes and which they succeeded, by a bold buccaneering stroke, in capturing in 1664. The Dutch brought to America a high type of culture, a passion for religion and education, a genius for organized and representative government, a determination that made them superior to obstacles, a catholicity of spirit that is well exhibited in the relations of Domine Megapolensis and Fathers Jogues—whom he rescued from the

Indians—and Brassani, an expressed toleration of the religious opinions and prejudices of others, written in the enactments of their assemblies and, withal, a treatment of the Indians which—other than the foolishness of William Kieft whose administration in this respect was a tragedy and for which the people of the colony had no responsibility, and some other incidents of like nature—was of as high a type as that of William Penn a half century later; and nowhere was that spirit of justice in dealings with the natives better exemplified in this country than in the relations with the Indians of Van Rensselaer and Van Curler at Fort Orange.

A glimpse of what church life in the colony was like in this early period is given in an address delivered by James W. Gerard before the Historical Society in 1874, on "The Old Streets of New York Under the Dutch." Incidentally, it portrays also the type of society, wealth and culture to be found in New Netherland.

> "We may present to ourselves for a moment, a picture of a congregation of our New Amsterdam predecessors, gathered together for a morning service in the church in the old fort; Jan Gillesen, the *klink,* or bell-ringer, is lustily pulling at the sonorous litttle Spanish bell, captured by the Dutch fleet from Porto Rico, whose sounds roll gently over hill and meadow, and reach the settlements on the Long Island shore . . . All labor has ceased . . . the calm repose of the Sabbath seems to pervade the very air . . . The neatly-clad people, in family groups, slowly and sedately wend their way through road and rural lane to the house of worship—some on foot, others on horseback, or in vehicles, some landing in boats from distant settlements or neighboring farms on either river.
>
> "Nicassius de Sille, the city *'Schout,'* accompanied by Hendrick van Bommel, the town crier, is going his rounds to see that all is quiet and conformed to the sacredness of the day; to keep the lazy Indians and negroes from fighting and gaming, and the tapsters from selling liquor. In front, and on the side of the fort, is a concourse of wagons and horses . . .
>
> "Now, preceded by old Claes van Elsland, the marshall of the Council (who also fulfilled the functions of sexton and dog-whipper), and marching between the bowing people up the aisle, we behold him whose presence represents the 'High and Mighty Lords, the States-General of The United Netherlands, His Highness of Orange, and the Noble Lords and Managers of the privi-

leged West India Company'—no less a personage, in fact, walking with a cane, sturdy and erect, in spite of his wooden leg, than His Excellency De Heer Directeur Generaal Petrus Stuyvesant, Governor of Nieuw Nederland, accompanied by his wife, Lady Judith, walking stately and prim as becomes her position as wife of the great Director; and by her side old Dr. Johannes de la Montagnie, Ex-Councillor, and now Vice Director at Fort Orange, who has come down on a visit to talk about state affairs.

"Following the Governor is the Provincial Secretary, Cornelius van Ruyven, and his wife, Hildegonde, a daughter of Domine Megapolensis; and here are the 'Most worshipful, most prudent and very discreet,' their mightinesses the Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amsterdam, answering to what are now the mayor, aldermen and common councilmen. Preceding them to their official pew, with their velvet cushions brought from the Stadt Huys, or City Hall, is old Matthew de Vos, the Town Marshal.

"Walking in portly dignity are the Burgomasters, Oloff Stevensen van Cordtlandt and Paulus Leedersen van der Griest; and the most worshipful Schepens, Cornelius Steenwyck, Johannes de Peyster, Peter Wolfersen van Couwenhoven, Isaac de Forest and Jacob Strycker.

"Following them we observe Allard Anthony and Isaac Bedlow, the prosperous traders; and Johannes de Witt, the miller and flour merchant; and Dr. Hans Kierstede with his wife, Sara, who was a daughter of Mrs. Anneke Jans Bogardus. And here is Madame Cornelia de Peyster, wife of the Schepen, with her golden-clasped Psalm-book hanging from her arm by its golden chain; and the wealthy fur trader, Peter Rudolphus de Vries, and Margaret Hardenbroeck, his bride, who four years later married the lively young carpenter, Frederick Phillipse, he who a few years later became lord of Phillipse Manor, on the Hudson, by the Pocantico Creek or Mill River, just above Tarrytown. And there was the great English merchant, John Dervall and his handsome wife Katherina, the daughter of Burgomaster Oloff Stevenson van Cordtlandt, which lady in after time also became a wife of and brought a large fortune to the same lucky Mr. Frederick Phillipse, who then sat humbly in the back benches, little dreaming of the good fortune that was awaiting him by his marriages with the neighboring two rich widows. And here is the substantial merchant, Jerominus Ebbink and the Widow de Huller, to whom he was betrothed, daughter of old Johannes de Laet, one of the original proprietors of Rensselaerwyck; and Madame Margaretta de Riemer, formerly Gravenraedt, just married to Schepen Cornelius Steenwyck; and Mrs. Katherine de Boogh Beekman, daughter of Captain de Boogh, then running the smartest craft on the river, which Mrs. Katherine was married to Wilhelmus Beekman, Director on South River. And here is the widow of

the late Secretary Cornelius van Tienhoven, whose hat and cane had been found in the North River, which was the last seen of the most unpopular man in Nieuw Amsterdam.

"Now enters Mrs. Elizabeth Backer, formerly van Es, the great fur trader on the Heere-graeft, followed by her little slave-boy, Toby, carrying her New Testament with silver clasps.

"And here also is the young baronet, Sir Henry Moody, son of Lady Deborah Moody from *'Gravesende,'* she who left the Massachusetts colony because of her views on infant baptism, and who had twice defended her house against savages in the troublous times.

"And come also to hear the Domine are some of the von Curlers and Gerritsens and Wolfertsens and Stryckers, from *Nieuw Amersfoordt* (Flatlands); and the Snedekors and Elbertsens and Van Hattems from *'Vlackebosch,'* or *Midwout* (Flatbush); and old Lubbertsen van der Beek from 'Breuckelen'; and Rapeljes and Duryees and Cershous from the Waalboght.

"And then follow the rest of the good citizens of the place, both those of the great and small citizenship, the 'Groote Burgerrecht' and the "Kleine Burgerrecht,'—Dirck van Schelluijne the notary, van der Spiegle, the baker, whose two little girls subsequently married, one a de Foreest and the other Rip van Dam, the colonial Lieutenant-Governor; and burly Burger Jorisen, the patriotic blacksmith from Hanover Square—the last man, five years later, to advocate resistance to the English, and who abandoned the city in disgust after the surrender.

"And then Pieter Cornelius van der Veer and Mrs. Elsje, his wife, the daughter of the great merchant, Govert Lockermans, which Mrs. Elsje subsequently married the unfortunate Jacob Leisler. Behind Mrs. van der Veer were her lively sisters, Marritje and Jannetje, and near by, casting sheep's eyes at the former, was Master Balthazar Bayard, whom she subsequently married.

"After the Domine's exhortation was finished, and a prayer from Domine Drisius, and a Psalm had been sung, led by Harmanus van Hoboken, the schoolmaster and *'Zieckentrooster,'* whose voice the widow Marritje Pieters particularly admired, the members of the congregation wended their way over street and path and meadow to their respective homes. The ladies doffed their Sunday finery and set to work in hearty preparation of the noontide meal."

In this somewhat whimsical and yet, probably quite historical description are certain characteristics of the Dutch Church which are worthy of note. Here are seen the strong interest in worship and the desire for a wholesome, spiritual observance of the Lord's Day, the warrant for which, the church holds, is found in the necessities of

humanity and the claims and rights of divinity. We see the notables and the less conspicuous members of society diligent in observing their spiritual responsibilities. Here is the family conception of church attendance and worship evidenced in the presence of families in the service, a custom which might well be revived. That conception may be broadened also into a statement that the Reformed Church in its entirety considers itself a great family where all are brothers and sisters and the parity of the clergy is a basic element of the polity. Here again is the orderly and stately service of worship led by the minister who has been carefully trained and cultured for his task. Here is a quiet dignity that comports itself with decorum in the holy atmosphere of God's house and the Lord's Day.

CHAPTER III.

The Church and Its Struggles for Independence Under the English Occupancy, 1664-1696

It is only natural that the Dutch Church should have suffered a serious decline during the period of the English occupancy. Itself the established church under the Dutch rule, attended not only by the authorities in charge but enjoying the favor of the ruling parties, as did the State Church in the Netherlands of which it was a part, and supported by the Dutch West India Company, it had prospered under Dutch rule to a high degree. At the time of the surrender to the English in 1664, the population of New Netherland was approximately ten thousand souls, the overwhelming majority of whom were Dutch. There were, as stated in the previous chapter, eleven churches and two preaching stations in the colony, and thirteen ministers had come from the Netherlands to serve them during the thirty-six years. Of these, six were still on the field—Domines Johannes Megapolensis and his son Samuel, and Domine Drisius of New York, Domine Polhemus of Brooklyn, Domine Schaats of Albany, and Domine Blom of Kingston. The substitution of English for Dutch rule was a severe blow to Dutch Church life. It presented, likewise, an anomalous situation.

Here was the spectacle of a Dutch church in an English colony, accepting authority, however, not from the English governor or the English crown in matters ecclesiastical, but governed by and owing allegiance to a classis in Amsterdam which had no legal standing in America. The support of the ministers by the Dutch West India Company was now, also, a thing of the past; the people were not accustomed to making contributions in sufficient amounts to pay salaries and support the church, and the

ministers found themselves without funds with which to provide their daily bread. In New York the complaint was made that "The people crowd into church and apparently like the sermon, but most of the listeners are not inclined to contribute to the salary of the pastor." It appears that what salary the minister may have received was collected from house to house. Domine Samuel Megapolensis declared this custom to be degrading and returned to the fatherland. Domine Blom of Kingston also became disgusted and returned. Domine Schaats of Albany would have done the same only he was too poor to go. Domines Johannes Megapolensis, Drisius and Polhemus continued to make their contribution to the spiritual life of the colony, in discouragement and poverty. Domine Megapolensis writes of this time:

> "I trust that God who has hitherto taken care of me from my youth, when I relinquished popery and was thrust out at once from my inherited estate, will take care of me during the short remainder of my life."

Domine Megapolensis died in 1670 and Domine Drisius became ill. Thus only two able-bodied ministers were left to care for the churches—Schaats at Albany and the aged Polhemus at Brooklyn. The latter extended his work to care for the church on Manhattan. It was a dark day for the Dutch Church. And yet, it may not be said with truthfulness that the people were wholly responsible for the distressing conditions. They had not been accustomed to contribute to the support of the church regularly and feel the entire responsibility for it. The ministers were brought over and maintained at the expense of the Company. At one time their salaries were paid out of the Company's revenue from the liquor traffic. There was bound to be a period of adjustment, when the support of the churches by the authorities was suddenly taken away, and before the people became accustomed to the new order of contributions from the membership for the support of the Gospel. Possibly it required just such a period of hardship as this to bring forcibly to their attention the necessity of weighing carefully and thoughtfully the words, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth

out the corn," and "The laborer is worthy of his reward."

There was, of course, no condition of poverty among the people that made it impossible to support the church services adequately. New Netherland, now New York, was no longer an unconquered wilderness. According to C. E. Corwin:*

> "Fifty years had changed an unknown wilderness into a fruitful country. Villages were multiplying and bridle paths or rude cart tracks connected the hamlets with each other. There was no lack of food as in the days when the first Dutch pastor (Domine Michaelius) had nothing better to give his little children than dried fish and beans. The people lived in rude profusion. Peaches were so plentiful in their season that the ground beneath the breaking trees was covered with windfalls. All kinds of fish, flesh and fowl were abundant. The best meat sold for about one half cent a pound. . . .
>
> "New York was a compact little city of about four hundred houses, built mostly of brick and stone covered with black and red tiles. With the conquest of the English, business at once became prosperous, and there was an active trade with Europe and the West Indies. The three richest men in the province were connected with the Dutch Church. . . . Frederick Phillipse was so rich that he was reported to keep his money in barrels. (His actual fortune was about $32,000.00, a large amount in those days.) Cornelius Steenwyck . . . (and) Oloff Stevenson van Cordtlandt" were the other two.

In this distressing condition of the church with respect to support of the ministers, relief came in the form of a new consciousness among the people themselves. They began to feel that, while they were blessed with a material prosperity, steps must be taken also to insure the prosperity of the Gospel among them. As a result we find the consistory of New York putting on record a humble statement of their personal responsibility for the unsatisfactory condition of spiritual matters in their midst. They resolved as follows:

> "We feel it (their spiritual condition) to be a righteous judgment of God on account of our ingratitude and lack of zeal. . . This young and afflicted church is now to her great grief deprived of both the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments. Our necessities and pressing duties lead us to take refuge in God."

* From an unpublished mss., History of The Reformed Church in America.

But they not only "resolved" and prayed. They answered their own prayers. They embodied their resolutions in concrete activities. They circulated subscription papers and found that they could raise 1000 florins a year for a pastor. They consulted the English governor and secured his sanction and cooperation. They agreed that the 1000 florins might be paid in beaver skins at six florins per skin —a contract which paved the way in a rising market for the domine to make a handsome profit, which actually happened later. They sent to Holland for a minister. Domine Selyns, who had been a pastor in Brooklyn, recommended in high terms a relative of his, the Reverend William Nieuwenhuysen. He was also a graduate of the University of Leyden. His coming revived the Dutch Church in New York and raised the hopes of others in the colony. Domine Nieuwenhuysen is described variously, according as the historian was friendly or hostilely critical. Thus, one says:

> "His person is very agreeable to us and his gifts fully satisfy the congregation. He labors daily and diligently in edifying our people, either by preaching God's Word or by catechizing the young."

But another one, not quite so complimentary, says that he was

> "A thick, corpulent person with a red, bloated face and of very slabbering speech."

Shall we credit these divergent descriptions to the philosophy of realism or to the different cultures of the chroniclers?

The first English Governor of New York was Colonel Richard Nicholls. He is described as a conscientious gentleman of Irish descent who spoke both Dutch and French. He began auspiciously by consulting the leading men of the province and becoming a fast friend of Peter Stuyvesant. Between his orders from England and his desires to conciliate the people of the colony he had, as every English governor had for some years, a difficult task. That he did not succeed entirely is not to his discredit. He was followed, after four years, by Sir Francis Lovelace, who was a man of much less ability and character, and



Peter Stuyvesant

arbitrary. He leads the long line of royal land speculators who had a desire for quick riches, and used their offices for that purpose. The Dutch were of a rather complacent type, however, and made little protest so long as the spirit of their liberties was not being violated, though things were not all that they should be. But even the placid Dutch concluded after a few years that their liberties were more secure under a republican form of government, and they were ready, therefore, to rejoice, ring their bells and announce a national day of thanksgiving for the colony, when Admirals Evertsen and Benckes appeared in the harbor and New York became New Netherland again. Their joy was was destined to be short-lived, as we have seen.

When the Peace of Westminster restored the colony of New Netherland to the English, Charles Stuart immediately turned over New York to James, Duke of York. James sent Edmund Andros to be governor. It is not the province of this book, of course, to trace the history of all these various executives. Nevertheless, there is a succession of circumstances in the struggles of the people for civil liberty that runs through these several administrations and has a relation to the religious history of the Dutch colony, which is of decided interest to the present day student of the history of this church. One of Governor Andros' first acts—due to his secret instructions—was to take away from the people of the interior towns and country the right to "bolt" flour, that is, to sift the fine white flour from the meal and sell it as white flour, and to give the monopoly of this to certain New York interests. This outrageous action greatly enriched New York at the expense of the

other towns. The wealth of the metropolis increased three-fold in the short space of sixteen years. It rankled in the hearts of the farmers and others "Upstate" and had a direct connection with the so-called "Leisler troubles" of 1690. Andros was as unsatisfactory to Puritan New England as he was to Dutch New York. James recalled him, therefore, and Thomas Dongan was sent out to succeed him.

Dongan's regime is noteworthy for the fact that he summoned an assembly of the people on October 17, 1683. In this assembly the Dutch representatives were in a large majority. The Assembly passed the "Charter of Liberties," which provided that "The supreme legislative authority under His Majesty and His Royal Highness, James, Duke of York, Albany, etc., Lord Proprietor of the said Province, shall forever be and reside in the governor, council, and the people met in a general assembly." This charter the fawning James pretended to be delighted with, and even hinted that the administration of it would be more liberal than its provisions decreed. But in 1685 Charles II died, and James assumed the throne as James II of England, and then began to give an exhibition of the real spirit that was in him. He positively declined to approve the charter. He allowed it to remain in force, however, but wrote secretly to Governor Dongan in 1686,

> "You are to Declare Our Will and pleasure that ye said Bill, or Charter of Franchise bee forthwith repealed and disallowed, as ye same is hereby Repealed determined and made void."

Thus by the stroke of a pen, all those cherished hopes of self-government and "No taxation without consent," for which their forefathers had bled and died, were swept away from the colonists of New York, and they were given to understand that nothing save the will of an arbitrary sovereign on the other side of the sea would be law in this land, although it was peopled by the descendants of persons who had fought for and gained popular rights during a period of from one hundred to four hundred years before His Highness was born. After that, Lexington and Bunker Hill were sure to follow, especially if this and future kings persisted in such a policy.

To the credit of Governor Dongan be it said that he withheld this sad news from the colonists for some time. Early in 1687 he announced to them the king's pleasure, dissolved the assembly and, with his council, assumed the entire government of the colony. Relief was to come to the people, however, sooner than had been anticipated. James II's tenure of the throne of England was approaching an end. Early in 1688 he was obliged to abdicate. William III of the Netherlands and descendant of the illustrious William the Silent, Prince of Orange, became William III of England, and Dutch hopes in New York rose once more. William had been brought up in the atmosphere of religious toleration, so it was not difficult for him to adjust himself to the liturgical forms of the Establishment. At the same time he was zealous that other persons should have the same freedom of choice and practice in worship that he asked for himself. The period of religious tolerance that has been in vogue in England ever since his day began with his reign.

The Act of toleration passed soon after his accession was one of his first contributions to this cause. The Dutch of New York breathed a sigh of relief and satisfaction that one of their own blood, a scion of the House of Orange, now sat on the English throne, from which they were governed.

But the changed attitude of the government was not to be felt in the colony for some time. Before the churches of New York were to secure complete independence and be freed from the constant anxiety lest the Establishment be forced upon them, the colony was to pass through the trying experience of the so-called "Leisler Episode." This may not be passed over in silence in a work of this character, since Leisler was a deacon in the Reformed Church in New York, and the ministry of that Church took such a decided stand in opposition to him. It was a case of the "Privileged Classes vs. People." Leisler was the son of a French Huguenot minister, born at Frankfort, whither his family had fled on the persecutions of Louis XIV. Louis then sent his armies to lay waste the Palatinate and in

person invaded Holland. Thousands of French and German people then came to America, among them Jacob Leisler. Leisler had enlisted as a soldier in the Dutch West India Company. Coming to New York he soon made a place for himself, becoming one of the richest merchants in the colony, a church officer and a judge. Naturally, he was an intense Protestant. He had known persecution.

Royal Governor Nicholson was a hold-over in New York from the regime of James II. The population was a divided one. There were the rich monopolists and office holders on the one side, and the balance of the population on the other. The free farmers disliked the monopolists of New York for their exclusive privilege of "bolting" flour, and probably a majority of the people of the towns took the same view. Unfortunately, the clergy of the Dutch Church took sides with the privileged classes against the people. When Nicholson fled because of an indiscretion in dealing with a case of discipline, a Committee of Safety was formed to conserve King William's interests, Leisler was appointed captain of the fort by the Committee of Safety, and later was made commander, or governor, of the whole province. It can hardly be said that this was a "Usurpation." Then, with the slow working of the English government, the more or less prolonged occupancy of his office and the exercise of that authority gave him an increasing prominence in the eyes of the people and brought down upon his head the violent denunciations of the clergy and the privileged class. This was particularly induced by the fact that Governor Sloughter was shipwrecked on Bermuda and sent Captain Ingolsby on, three months ahead of himself, but with no credentials. To him Leisler rightfully refused to give place. Domines Selyns, Dellius and Varick thundered from their pulpits against Leisler, but he had a warm place in the hearts of the people, who considered him the champion of their rights and responded by persecuting their pastors. Dellius fled to Boston and Varick to Delaware. Varick was later thrown into prison for six months, the effects of

which were the ultimate cause of his death. With Governor Sloughter's arrival Leisler was arrested, accused of treason in not surrendering his office to Captain Ingolsby, tried and sentenced, with his son-in-law Milborne, to die on the scaffold. He died as a Christian and, without doubt, as a martyr to his devotion to the cause of the people as against privilege and monopoly. He has too long been painted as a traitor and usurper. History is beginning to write him down as a highminded patriot who saw clearly and felt warmly. Later, the English Parliament removed the attainder of treason against him, Queen Anne restored his estate to his descendants, and, quite against the wishes and vigorous protests of the clergy and church officials, his remains were disinterred from their place beside the gallows and buried under the floor of the Garden Street Church.

In the course of these thirty years (1664–1696), the Dutch people were disturbed by another question which was of as great importance to them as the question of their civil liberties. This was the matter of their ecclesiastical and religious freedom. Hollanders insisted upon the right to think and act for themselves in the field of religious theory and practise. They had resisted the efforts of tyrants to make them conform to a state-established faith. The Reformation found congenial soil in the Netherlands, and here the records for some of the darkest pages of the Inquisition were written. Charles I, Philip II, Alva, Louis XIV and others found them unconquerable. Defeated, they came back to the attack. No cause called in vain for their strength and even their life as long as it remained their cause; and no cause of theirs was ever lost so long as life was left to them. With their intensely religious nature, their spiritual privileges were their first rights. To an equally high degree they regarded their civil rights.

So, while struggling for freedom in government and participation in the drafting of the laws under which they were to live, they were struggling also for independence and liberty in faith. New Netherland had no sooner be-



FIRST GARDEN STREET CHURCH, 1693

come New York than the English king and the Duke of York determined that the state church of England should be the established church of New York. Before the capture of New Amsterdam in 1664, the king had sent secret instructions to his agents in New England to inform themselves as to the true state of the colonists by "insinuating" themselves by "dexterous carriage into the good opinions of the principal persons there," with a view to "lead" them "to desire to renew their charters and to make such alterations as will appear necessary for their own benefit." The alterations, of course, would be those which the king would suggest. The commissioners were also to give no sign that they had any thought of making "any alteration in their Church Government or to introduce any other form of worship among them than what they have chosen." They were to frequent the places of worship of the colonists and appear interested and devout, but they were to be assiduous also in seeing that the services of a chaplain for their own families be maintained. They were to be very careful about suggesting any changes in the manner of worship, but they were to make it clear that it would be the greatest blessing if all were of "one faith and one way of worship with us." Such secret instructions reveal the real policy of the government in matters of religion in New England. The same policy was to be pursued in New Netherland as soon as it might be convenient. (Col. Doc. N. Y. III, 57-61.)

Thus the movements of the governor, according to these secret instructions, were to be confined not to the open effort to force the established church upon the colonists, but rather to an organized system of proselyting by which the same end should be reached in time. Publicly, and ostentatiously officially, there was the word from the crafty king, "You shall let them know that you have no order from us . . . to make the least attempt, or to encourage alteration in the way they profess religion." It is quite apparent, however, that these two-faced activities of the sovereign were not unknown in New Amsterdam. About a month before the surrender to the English in

September, 1664, Director-General Stuyvesant wrote to the Directors of The West India Company and stated: "The King would like to bring all his dominions (in America) under one foreign government, in political as well as in ecclesiastical matters; that, therefore, some commissioners . . . are ready . . . to proceed to New England and introduce their bishops." Possibly Stuyvesant did not know that the King had already decided to seize New Netherland and promulgate the same action there. He does refer to the rumors that the design of the fleet that was to bring the commissioners were designs, not so much upon New England as upon "Long Island and upon our other possessions here." One of the stipulations at the surrender of the colony in 1664 was: "8. The Dutch here shall enjoy liberty of their conscience in divine worship and discipline." But when it is remembered that the same stipulation was made with reference to civil and political rights, and was so quickly violated, it is readily seen how empty were the promises of those whose consuming ambition was to lay hands on this prosperous colony of New Netherland.

These efforts to foist the established church upon the colony came soon and repeatedly. Governor Andros did one real service in religious matters for the Dutch Church when he issued an order for the ministers of New York to convene and ordain Peter Tesschenmacher for service among the Dutch on the South River—that is, the Delaware. They obeyed with some hesitation, formulating in an apologetic manner an elaborate report to the Classis of Amsterdam which approved the ordination but suggested the exercise of great caution in further procedure of this character, and the incident was closed. Tesschenmacher had previously served the church at Kingston for a brief period. After his service on the Delaware he went to the church at Schenectady, where he suffered death in the terrible massacre of 1690. His head was carried on a pole and triumphantly displayed in Canada. It is quite probable that if Jacob Leisler had had the whole-hearted support of all the people of New Netherland, in his brief



American Indian Encampment

period as commander and governor of the province, the French and Indians of Canada might not have been emboldened to make that bloody foray against this frontier town. With Leisler's weakened influence, due to the opposition of some of the more prominent people of the city, the French and Indians took advantage of the situation to strike a deadly blow.

But another act of Andros was not of such a beneficial character as his order to ordain Tesschenmacher. He arbitrarily attempted to place over the church at Albany the Reverend Nicholas Van Rensselaer, a son of Patroon Van Rensselaer, a protege of Charles II and a minister of the established church. On September 7, 1668, Domine Samuel Megapolensis had written to a friend in Holland, "I apprehend such modifications in the condition of the church as I shall not be able to acquiesce in." Does he refer to the persistent efforts of the colonial governors in behalf of established religion, which efforts he foresees as becoming even more persistent? On the 7th of June. 1681, Domine Van Zuuren wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam: "Our church will never be free from English politics." Again on October 30th of the same year, he writes: "The Spanish adherents were once the ruin of the Netherlands. Here it is the English Party (literally, the Anglicized people) who destroy our New Netherland." When Andros announced the settlement of Van Rensselaer over the church at Albany there was strong opposition. Domine Van Nieuwenhuysen of New York writes to the Classis of Amsterdam, under date of May 20, 1676, "When this man (Van Rensselaer) came here, with the restoration of the English government in 1674, he was, after two months, invested with the ministry of the church at New Orange,

now New Albany, without the least consultation with any ecclesiastical persons outside of the said place. I persistently declared that I could not and would not acknowledge any episcopal government over the church committed to my care." Van Rensselaer soon proved himself to be a wholly unworthy man, and left the Albany church in disgrace.

The struggle for religious liberty was not to be won in a moment. On one side was the determination of English governors, with pressure from the Crown, to establish the Church of England. On the other side was Dutch determination, born of hundreds of years of struggle for freedom, to resist any effort to put a yoke on the necks of the children which the fathers had not been able to bear. In 1691 Governor Sloughter attempted to secure legislation which would provide for ministerial support by public taxation, but the Dutch rejected the plan. His successor, Fletcher, urged the same enactment but found no less of opposition. Finally, in 1693, "The Ministry Act" was passed, which provided for the establishment of the Episcopal Church in four counties only of the province, but even this did not receive the approval of the king until nearly four years later, after the Dutch Church had secured from the Governor and the King the first ecclesiastical charter ever granted in the colony, and the only one ever granted to any denomination with the exception of that of Trinity Church secured shortly after that given to the Dutch Church.

That charter, granted to the Dutch Church in 1696, stated in the following definite terms the privileges and perpetual character of the organization. One quotation will suffice: "Our will and pleasure is, and of Our special grace certaine knowledge and meere mocon Wee have ordained, constituted and declared, and by these presents for us, Our heirs and Successours, do ordaine, constitute and declare, that they the said Henricus Selyns, Nicholas Bayard, Stephen Cortlandt, William Beekman, Joannes Kerbyle, Joannes De Peyster, Jacobus Kipp, Isaac De Foreest and Isaac De Reymer, the present Minister, Elders

and Deacons, and all such others as are now, or hereafter shall be admitted into the Communion of the said reformed protestant Dutch Church, in our City of New Yorke, shall be, from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, *a body corporate and politick, in fact and name,* by the name of 'THE MINISTER, ELDERS AND DEACONS OF THE PROTESTANT DUTCH CHURCH OF THE CITY OF NEW YORKE.' "

So, once more, liberty of conscience in religion had won its battle for recognition, this time on the soil of a newly discovered and recently settled continent. Other denominations looked with longing eyes upon this charter, but to none of them except the Established Church was a similar privilege given.

CHAPTER IV.

Through a Decline of Piety, Revival and Discussion to Unity

The period from 1696 to the outbreak of the American Revolution is one of great interest to the student of the history of the Dutch Church in this country. During this time there were developments that were of incalculable value and concern to the Church. These years witnessed the growth of the Church through additions from many parts of Europe, as well as from the natural increase of families and members. With the coming of these different types of peoples and with the increased use of the English language, the use of the Dutch was gradually discontinued, customs of the Dutch were gradually merged into a new and more cosmopolitan life, and the activities of this new order became more and more distinctively American. So the people of the province were being prepared for the epochal struggle of the Revolution. Now is to be noted that long discussion which was to issue in the separation of the Church in America from the authority of the Classis of Amsterdam, and establish on the soil of this country an autonomous Church. In the heat of this debate was to be forged not only a new peace, but a united church. During this period also, was destined to come to fruition the effort for the establishment of a college of learning, for the training of students "in the liberal arts and in the philosophical sciences"; the hope being expressed that this school might also "be a school of the prophets in which young Levites and Nazarites of God may be prepared to enter upon the sacred office."* In other words, in this period is the beginning of Reformed

* Queen's College, now Rutgers University.

Church educational institutions, especially with reference to the training and succession of ministers.

It is not to be supposed that the Dutch churches in the province of New York were to be entirely free to pursue the even tenor of their ecclesiastical way, even when a charter of complete liberty and incorporation was secured from Governor Fletcher and approved by William III. While the King himself would have frowned upon any efforts for further coercion in religious matters of his "loving subjects" in the Province of New York, such action was not forbidden by the scruples of the colonial governors, who were not above engaging in certain petty, even puerile forms of persecution which had only one objective—besides the obvious one of annoying the Dutch Church—namely, to give the governor an opportunity for the exhibition of a petty tyranny, based on the oft-repeated statement that the Established Church was the official church of the colony. Few of the colonial governors, for some years after the granting of the charter to the Dutch churches, were free from this childish method of exhibiting authority, but perhaps the most prominent in this respect was Lord Cornbury, who was especially spiteful. One or two instances of his ill-humored attitude were his recognition of Domine Freeman on Long Island, and his refusal for more than a year to recognize Domine Beys at Kingston.

Lord Cornbury was too wise to attempt very much coercion with the strong church at New York City. Here he resorted to flattery. But in the outlying regions he exhibited a sterner authority. The churches on Long Island had become pastorless by the death of Domine Lupardus in 1702, and, with the consent of the governor, sent to Holland for another minister. Before his arrival, however, Domine Freeman, of Schenectady, had obtained a call from the New Utrecht Church, by what Corwin describes as "underhanded methods," together with an agreement with the other churches of the Island ,to become pastor of the group. He came to New York and secured the consent of the governor to settle in his new

field. In the meantime, Domine Antonides arrived from Holland, in pursuance of the call from the Long Island churches and the commission of the Classis of Amsterdam, and went to pay his respects to the governor. To his great surprise he was informed that his field on Long Island was already occupied by another minister. Domine Antonides was not inclined to yield the point without protest, and the result was a long-drawn-out controversy which lasted beyond Cornbury's time and was finally compromised by the two ministers dividing the oversight of the fields.

The affair at Kingston was of a similar nature in so far as the attitude of the governor was concerned. Domine Nucella had departed from Kingston in 1704 and the church there made arrangements, with the consent of the governor, for the sending of a minister from Holland to be pastor. Domine Henricus Beys was selected and commissioned by the Classis of Amsterdam. But Cornbury had already forced upon the people of Kingston the Rev. Samuel Hepburn, an Anglican clergyman. The latter received a far from cordial reception, the people making it very plain that they did not want him. Domine Beys arrived in 1706, but Cornbury refused to receive him or approve his settlement. He kept the Domine waiting for a long time and then gave a grudging consent. His tyranny was near an end, however, for the Dutch Church petitioned for his recall, and Cornbury's incumbency ended in disgrace in 1708.

Such occurrences, nevertheless, could not but have an unsatisfactory and unwholesome effect upon the Church and religious conditions in the province. It is not a surprise to discover a serious decline in religious interest in this period. Many of the families on Long Island left and settled in the Raritan Valley, New Jersey. The First Church of Raritan, now Somerville, N. J., was organized in 1699, and was the beginning of that splendid body of churches of the Reformed order in that part of New Jersey. Another source of friction lay in the fact that "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign

Lands" had been organized in the Established Church of England and its missionaries had begun their work in America. Many of these were very worthy men, but were deceived as to the status of religious affairs in America. They had the support of the governors, which was an added source of friction. For it must be remembered that practically all these difficulties were between the governors and the church authorities. While they were arguing—the one to establish his right to name the ministers and schoolmasters, and the other to retain the freedom of the churches to act for themselves in such matters—the members of the Dutch Church with their pastors, and the adherents of the Episcopal Church with their rectors were fraternizing and enjoying each other's fellowship. There was probably more of fellowship than there was of faith. Religious interest did not run high. It is said that * "Irreligion, profanity and Sabbath-breaking were common. The spiritual condition of the negro slaves was deplorable, and even the Indians were free in their criticisms of the character of the so-called Christians. They said it was not worth while for them to become Christians, for even the Christians themselves did not follow the principles of their religion."

Reformed Churches were beginning to be found also in other portions of New Jersey. Guilliam Bertholf had been laboring at Hackensack and elsewhere, first as a catechist and schoolmaster, and later as a minister, after ordination in Holland to which he had gone for that purpose. Preaching services had probably been held at Hackensack as early as 1682. At Bergen an unorganized congregation had been meeting for worship since about 1660. Acquakanonk (First Passaic) had been organized in 1693, First Freehold (Marlboro) in 1699, as well as others which might be noted in this period. Huguenots had been coming in considerable numbers, and added a very strong element to the church life. In 1709 a large body of Palatines came from England, whither they had fled to escape religious persecutions at home in the Palatinate of Ger-

* Corwin mss., History of The Reformed Church in America.



Reformed Church, Bergen, N. J. Erected 1773, *taken down* 1841

many. Some four thousand of them started from England, but one thousand are said to have perished on shipboard. Some of them settled along the Hudson River and the rest in the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys of New York State and in eastern Pennsylvania. An old tradition relates how, reaching New York late in the fall, they ascended the Hudson River by sailboat as usual. But an early and unusually severe winter set in and they were obliged to disembark at Catskill, New York. From there they dragged their household goods on sledges behind them, over the Catskill mountains, and settled in the Schoharie valley. Whether the old tale—which the author (born in that region) has heard from childhood—is true or not, it would be no greater hardship than those sturdy pioneers had suffered in "the loss of all things" for the sake of that Gospel to which they had pledged the last red drop of devotion. The Reformed churches of these sections of New York and Pennsylvania owe their existence to the people of this immigration.*

* The story appears in a modified form in Eccl. Rec. of New York, III, 2168-2172, quoted from Doc. Hist., N. Y., III, 423-427, where the Palatines make complaint of their grievances, under date of August 20, 1720. They refer to the fact that they had been kept from the benefits that had been promised, such as money, lands, etc.; had been quartered in tents on the "Comon" in New York, and later on lands of a Mr. Livingston; that, when there seemed no prospect of their receiving from the Governor the lands which had been promised them, the Indian chiefs had come to them with the promise to give them lands.;

"This put the people in some heart, and finding it absolutely necessary to embrace that opportunity so providently bestowed on them, all hands fell to work, and in two weeks time cleared a way through the woods of fifteen miles long with the utmost toyle and labour, though allmost starved and without bread. Which being effected, fifty familyes were immediately sent to Schorie . . ."

In 1705 there were thirty-four Dutch churches in New York and New Jersey. Twenty-three new ministers had come in the period since 1664, and twelve were still in service among the thirty-four churches.

But, while the churches were increasing and new immigrants arriving, there was yet, as already noted, a spiritual dearth in the land. This finds one of its causes in the quarrels and bickerings of the colonial governors, but in all probability another may be found in the prosperous life of the colony. Fortunes had been made in the fur trade and in business. The flour monopoly accounted for much of the wealth of New York City. The luxuries of fashionable life in Europe were being imported, fine Delft ware was being collected; silks, jewels and other accessories of comfortable living were quite the vogue. The people were sitting for portraits. Libraries of books were being brought over. At the funeral service for Mr. Peter J. Marius "29 gallions of wyne" at a cost of 6s 9d per gallion," were consumed. "Eight hundred cookies were eaten, and one-half a vat of beer was drunk. Provision was also made for suits of mourning, mourning rings and gloves." As is usual in a time of great prosperity, the people seemed to forget God. It appears also that a fairly healthy "Youth Movement," of no inconsiderable proportions was being realized. The younger generation was not averse to expressing its opinions on the value of some of the customs of the day. The older people were decidedly shocked. Particularly did they direct their criticisms at the sermons of the good domine on the Lord's Day. In the early time, the domine always preached about two hours, and the people thought him short of good "sermon timber" if the sermon were of any shorter duration. One of the ministers was requested to keep his sermon within one hour, and he replied that he would be glad to comply "so far as it was possible." The tabloid sermon was evidently coming into favor, but it was not being originated by the pastors.

Another point of difference arose over the use of the Dutch language. English was now the language of busi-

ness and of the law courts. It was being increasingly used among the younger generation. In 1730, suggestion was made that it be used in the church services. But, while the older people made no serious objection to the use of English in the ordinary affairs of life, they did offer strenuous objection to its introduction into the church services. It is quite beside the point to remark that they may have imagined that God can understand only the Dutch—as has been charged against them, and may be heard to-day charged against some of our Dutch-speaking churches of the Middle West and elsewhere, where it is difficult for the older generation to realize that the environment of the young people is of such a character as to make it certain that they must eventually forget the tongue of the fatherland—but it is probably nearer the truth to say that the older people, who took their religion and their church service seriously, were so accustomed to the use of their own language and to certain expressions of religious experience as voiced in the Dutch idioms, that they found it exceedingly difficult to adjust themselves to and find spiritual enjoyment in the same truths expressed in English. To some, the language of the latter was the "language of heresy." To most, there was not the spiritual satisfaction derived from a service in English that they found in one expressed in the mother tongue. It was a real deprivation, therefore, when they were compelled to worship in a tongue other than their own. At the same time, they should have realized sooner than they did that the Dutch could not remain the language of this land, and the sooner the adjustments were made, consistent with the development of a congregation, the better it would be for all concerned. The early Church did not realize the importance of this and the result was an incalculable loss to the Reformed Church. It is possible that a similar mistake is being made in some of the foreign-language churches in America to-day.

But, while all these events were transpiring, the Church was, in reality, moving toward the opening of a decided spiritual uplift. In the language of the Scriptures, there

was the "sound of a stirring in the tops of the mulberry trees." A gracious revival of religion was already on the way. It came with the preaching of Jonathan Edwards in New England, with the work of William Tennent and his Log College at Neshaminy, and with the evangelism of George Whitefield, who was riding up and down in the middle coast colonies and preaching the Gospel with the demonstration of the Spirit and of power. This period is known in history as "The Great Awakening." Domine Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen was the leading spirit of this movement among the Reformed Churches. Closely associated with him were Domines Bertholf, Van Santvoord and others. Domine Frelinghuysen had begun his labors among the churches of the Raritan Valley in 1720. The records of his early life and training are very meager. He was the son of an eminent minister of the Netherlands, and his education was of the best, as is well attested by the works of his pen which remain and the records of the churches which he served in the Raritan Valley. His nature and temperament fitted him admirably to become the champion of evangelism in the Reformed Church. He saw clearly the necessity for breaking with some of the rigid methods of church work which he found in vogue. He was the first to suggest and take a part in the carrying out of the proposal to establish an independent organization of the church in this country by which the Church could train and ordain its own ministers without the necessity of sending them to Holland for this purpose. Yet he sent his own sons there for ordination, attesting his willingness to abide by that authority until a change was made. He found in his work in this wide and wild field in New Jersey that it was humanly impossible for one man to care for it, his own health breaking and bringing him to an early grave in 1748. He selected men of gifts in his congregation and trained them to go out in somewhat the capacity of the Ziecken-troosters, or Comforters of the Sick, of early colonial days. He also took young men of promise into his own home and trained them for the ministry, among whom were Samuel Verbryck of Tappan, John H. Goetschius of Hackensack and Schraalenberg,

and Thomas Romeyn of Minisink, Walpeck and Deer Park. By these unusual activities and departures from the strict formalities of the Church he offended a few of his people from the very beginning of his ministry, as well as some of the conservative New York ministers, who were not accustomed to the exhibition of such fervor in religious work; but Frelinghuysen has been more than vindicated in the beneficial character of his work in the Raritan Valley and the great contribution which he made to the progress of the Dutch Church.

This change in the spiritual atmosphere of the Church brought with it certain definite effects. These are summarized as follows:*

> "1. A great spiritual awakening of the churches, which largely augmented their number and their membership. In New England, about one hundred and fifty new churches were organized, and the increase of members amounted to seven percent of the population. In the Middle Colonies ,the number of ministers doubled but could not keep pace with the growth of the churches. The Dutch Reformed churches increased about one-third, making now sixty-five in all.
>
> "2. A great enlargement along missionary and educational lines. Dartmouth College was founded as a school for Indians and Princeton College was a direct child of the revival. During this era the Dutch Church, under the leadership of Frelinghuysen, first began to feel a desire for a higher institution of learning . . .
>
> "3. The influence tending toward religious and political liberty. The revival laid emphasis on the great principles of Christianity rather than on the theological distinctions previously valued. From that time rival sects learned Christian charity as never before. The effect upon political liberty was indirect. The growth of the religious convictions of the people served as a balance to the political revolution and prevented it from being hurled into that vortex of anarchy and ruin in which the French Revolution was swallowed up."

This new growth and sense of responsibility among the churches as well as the new evangelistic zeal, only emphasized afresh the difficulties under which the Reformed churches on this continent were laboring in attempting to meet the opportunity which loomed so large before them. The chief and crying need was for ministers to man the

* Corwin—Manual of the Reformed Church in America, 5th Ed., 58.

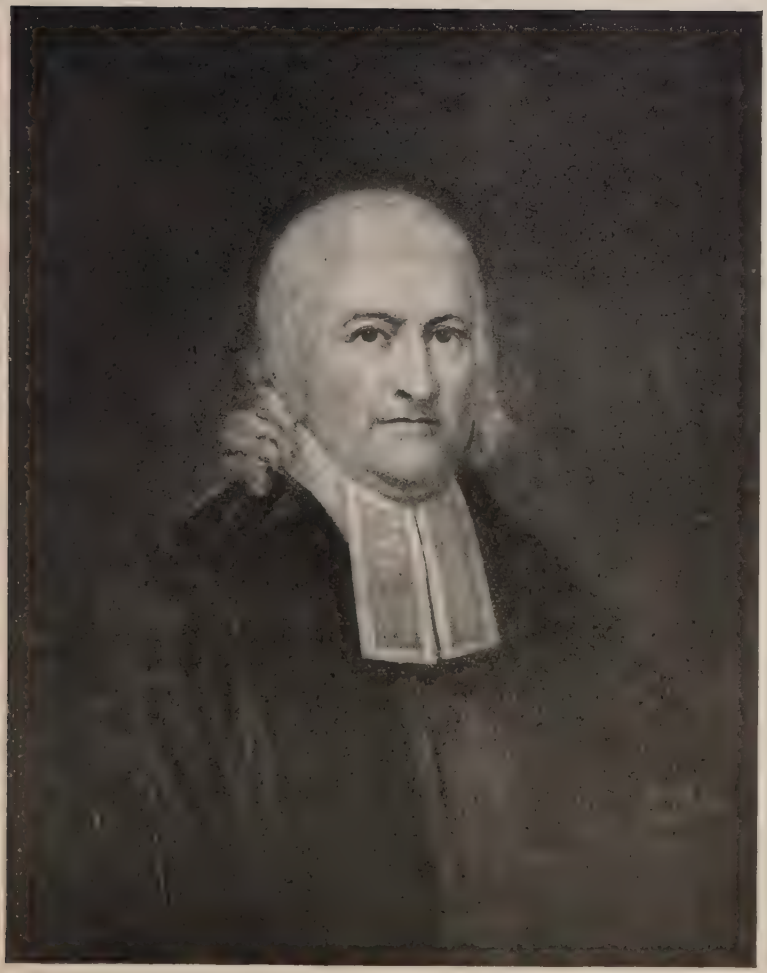
fields. It was a long and dangerous journey for theological students to make, to be compelled to go all the way to Holland for education and ordination, or for the latter only, as the case might be. The two sons of Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen had been graduated from the University of Utrecht and ordained by the Classis of Amsterdam. Ferdinandus had been called to the church at Kinderhook, and Jacobus (James) to the combined charges of Warwarsing (Napanoch), Rochester (Accord), and Marbletown (Stone Ridge) in the Rondout Valley, where many of Huguenot extraction had settled. But both of them died on shipboard while on the way to this country. Their deaths so influenced their brother, Theodore, at Albany, that he was among the most active of those who labored for the organization of an American Classis with the right to ordain.

There are a number of instances to be found in the records which indicate the restiveness of the churches in New York and New Jersey under such a long-range system of authority. As previously noted, Governor Andros had cut the Gordian knot in summary manner when he instructed the ministers of New York to meet and ordain Peter Tesschenmacker, in 1679, for service on the Delaware. In 1729 the Classis of Amsterdam gave special permission to ordain John Peter Boehme for service among the Germans in Pennsylvania. The Classis expressly stipulated, however, that this was not to be considered in the light of a precedent. John H. Goetschius had come into the ministry of the church by an irregular method, having been licensed by a group consisting of Dorsius, Frelinghuysen and Tennent,, and reordained by the Coetus in 1748. The need of ministers and the difficulty of securing ordination in Holland led to the loss of many good and promising young men to the ministry of the Reformed Church, and opened the door for some unworthy ones to obtain entrance to the pulpits of Reformed congregations by the use of unusual methods. So Domine Van Driessen was able to inflict himself upon some Dutch churches for a period of about twenty years, although the

Classis of Amsterdam declared him "No legal minister of the Reformed Dutch Church. . . . because his conduct was then and had been very far from correct; and lastly, because he had . . . presented forged certificates." Paulus Van Vlecq had been irregularly ordained by Domine Freeman in 1709 that he might serve as a chaplain in the Dutch troops in Queen Anne's War.

In 1736 the Consistory of the Schoharie Church petitioned the Classis of Amsterdam for permission to ordain Johannes Schuyler, who had been laboring among them in an acceptable manner for some time. The Classis delayed its reply for a considerable period and the consistory, which had been encouraged by Domine Haeghoort, chafed under the delay. Domine Haeghoort became impatient also and conceived the idea of organizing a "Coetus," or a body of ministers and elders similar to a classis and with the privileges and rights of such a body. He wrote letters to many of the churches and, among them, to the consistory of the church in New York City. Acting upon his suggestion, this consistory issued a call for a meeting of the representatives of the churches to convene in New York on September 5, 1737. This body met on this date and engaged in a somewhat protracted discussion. A plan was adopted defining the personnel of such a body as a Coetus and indicating the nature of the business that might be transacted by it. Adjournment was then had, after voting that this plan should be submitted to the various churches for their approval and fixing upon the date of the next meeting as April 27, 1738.

Those first efforts were of little avail. The assembly met in April, 1738, formulated plans for a Coetus and submitted them to the Classis of Amsterdam, which approved them all with the exception of granting the right to ordain in America. This, however, was the heart of the whole matter. So the fruit of these efforts was practically nothing. Most of the ministers and consistories saw no need for further meetings. Nine years dragged on in which the churches felt the stirring of the new life and the old conviction was strengthened that this American



DR. JOHN H. LIVINGSTON

Church must have American organization. In 1747 a meeting of the Coetus was called in New York. It continued to meet regularly until in 1754, when it broke up in discord. Harmony might have been secured if Domine Ritzema of the New York Church had been perfectly fair and single of eye. But, as the secretary of the Coetus, his reports to the Classis of Amsterdam did not agree with his minutes of the proceedings of the meetings as sent to the various consistories, and finally, with a few followers, he withdrew from the Coetus and the Church was split wide open. Ritzema and his four or five followers met frequently, calling themselves the Conferentie. The large majority of the ministers continued as a Coetus, taking matters into their own hands and ordaining men to the ministry as they found them fitted and prepared for this holy office.

Many were the volumes of complaints that the Conferentie laid on the table of the Classis of Amsterdam. One of the main points of dispute was the establishing of a Dutch college that students might be educated for the ministry without the necessity of sending them to Holland. Domine Ritzema opposed this, probably because he wished to be elected to the Dutch Chair of Theology which he personally asked to have established in Kings (Columbia) College. He never received that appointment. It was also proposed that the education of candidates for the ministry in the Dutch Church should be carried on in connection with Princeton College, by the establishment of a Dutch Chair of Theology there. But this proposal came to nought. The bitter controversy dragged on its weary length. Churches divided. Ministers and their churches were in disagreement. Sometimes there were two consistories in the same church, one favoring the Coetus, the other favoring the Conferentie, while the minister was favorable to one or the other and sometimes unfavorable to both. It was a trying time for the Dutch Church and the wonder is that it ever survived.

It is not necessary to go further into the details of the story of this unfortunate period. All this time the Lord

was providentially opening the way for peace. John Henry Livingston was the instrument whom He was to use. Dr. Livingston was born at Livingston Manor near Poughkeepsie, New York, on May 30, 1746. At the age of sixteen he graduated from Yale. A reference to him in Corwin's Manual (Fifth Ed., p. 398) says:

> "He was ambitious to enter the legal profession, and pursued the study of law for two years, but his health failing, he relinquished it. This gave him opportunity for reflection, and he was brought to Christ. After a time he resolved to devote himself to the ministry, and he chose to prepare for the Dutch Church in preference to the Presbyterian or Episcopal chiefly because of the sad dissensions then existing among the Dutch, which he felt it his duty to try to heal. He even felt in his heart that Providence would make him the instrument to accomplish these results.
>
> "He spent the winter of 1765-6 in New York, and greatly enjoyed the society of Domine Laidlie. He sailed May 12, 1766, for Holland to prepare for the ministry. He was the last of the American youth who went to Holland for this purpose. In Holland he made many warm friends and was himself greatly respected. . . He . . . presented himself before the faculty of the University of Utrecht for the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He passed through the severe ordeal, conducted in the Latin language" successfully.

While in Holland he remained in touch with America and kept himself informed as to the condition of the churches. He also conferred constantly with the leaders of the Church in Holland, and with their consent and approval prepared a plan of peace and union for the American churches. When he returned to New York he brought this plan of union with him and, very soon after his arrival, arranged for a joint meeting of the Coetus and Conferentie on the 15th of October, 1771. The list of names of those present at that meeting shows that practically all of the churches were represented, and the minute says that of the "Absent Ministers and Elders who were invited," they had "reason to believe that they were chiefly prevented . . . by domestic inconvenience," and not because of any lack of sympathy. Dr. Livingston was chosen president, with Domine Isaac Rysdyk of the Conferentie party as Clerk and Domine Eilardus Westerlo of the Coetus party as his secundus. Dr. Livingston's plan of union was adopted. The church was not only united again, but this

time it was independent of control from abroad. Dr. Livingston had been the Moses raised up by God to lead the Dutch Church out of its wilderness of chastening into a land of new life, where the observance of the spirit rather than that of the letter was to quicken all its activities. Domine Ritzema was appointed to preach a special sermon of thanksgiving, which he did on the 13th of October, 1772, from the text, Jude 3, last clause, "contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints."

CHAPTER V.

Revolution and Reconstruction

Hardly had the Church secured its freedom from ecclesiastical control from abroad, and arrived at a point where it could begin to be self-perpetuating, with a clear prospect of a wholesome growth and a future of happy usefulness, than the storm of the Revolution broke over the land. This calamity was not entirely unforeseen, but the fruit of it—separation from the mother country—was not contemplated until it became clear that all efforts to change the attitude of old-world governments toward the peoples of the new world would be unavailing. Incidents like the passing of the Stamp Act, the imposition of a tax upon glass, etc., the embargoes laid on trade, the "Golden Hill" incident in New York, the "Boston Massacre," the Boston Tea Party, and the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord are some of the steps that led up to the Revolution. The causes of that historic conflict lay deep in certain habits of thought of the colonists, and of the statesmen of George the Third's court, in certain social customs and movements, and especially in the failure on the part of the mother country to understand that an Englishman in America would surely not submit to anything which, to an Englishman at home, would be an insufferable encroachment upon individual and social rights.

The Pilgrim and Puritan had fled to New England for the sake of civil and religious freedom. It was not to be expected that they would be any the less keen for it on the western coast of the Atlantic than they had been on the eastern. The Dutch had come from the Netherlands thoroughly accustomed to self-government, as well as to that civil and religious freedom that had made Holland the refuge for Pilgrim and Puritan, Huguenot and Palatine. Only one without knowledge of the reactions of

human thought and emotion would have ever dreamed that they would be satisfied with less here, in the way of popular institutions and participation in the affairs of government, than they had enjoyed for centuries in their Low Country home. The Quakers had fled to Pennsylvania to avoid religious persecutions. They too would be thinking in terms of a free people. The Huguenots and Palatines had fled for similar reasons to the colony of New Netherland and were settled here in large numbers. No one would think of asking if their convictions would be likely to be less firmly fixed just because they had changed their place of residence. The Cavalier had come to this country as a protest against the Hanoverians. His opposition to Hanoverian practices would be none the less pointed merely because he was on this side of the water.

The acts of the government at home, with the consequent reactions in the colonies, were also of a character to recall memories of those earlier experiences and keep the colonists anxious lest their liberties be violated. Reference has already been made to the secret instructions to governors in New England and New York with reference to the supplanting of the churches of the colonists by the Church of England. The mother country was determined to hold the trade of these colonies not only under her direction, but for her own benefit. Hence, laws that forbade other than English ships entering certain New World harbors; trade with the colonies only by means of goods carried in English vessels; and laws based on the principle of the right to tax without consulting those who were taxed. These things, and others, are indicative of an attitude of mind that was wholly at variance with the "Mind-set" of the colonists. It was inevitable that a clash should come. The colonies were organizing "Committees of Safety" as early as 1690. "The Sons of Liberty" were banded together for a similar purpose. Definite resistance to what they considered an infringement of their rights was not a spasmodic phenomenon, but an every day occurrence.

The fact is that the psychology of the colonists was

set, without effort or intention on their part, toward revolution. Keeping this in mind, it is not difficult to see how Golden's Hill and Lexington, Monmouth and Valley Forge, Princeton and Brandywine, Saratoga and Yorktown follow in its train. Such attitudes toward civil and religious liberty needed only the stress of an opposition or an effort at a violation of them, to make them assert themselves with vigor. In the immortal words of Edmund Burke, these were "A people who were jealous of their liberties, and who would be quick to vindicate them if ever they should be violated."

New York and New Jersey, particularly New York, were the cockpit of the American Revolution. What Belgium has been as a battleground in the great conflicts that have shaken Europe, that New York was in four wars waged by the French and English for supremacy in America. The Revolution added another chapter to the story of hardship and heroic endeavor. Its position made it a strategic center. Its metropolis was the largest city in the colonies. Its harbor was vast. Its trade was unsurpassed by any other. Its wealth was proverbial. Its great river, Henry Hudson's "River from the Mountains," formed a natural method of communication with Canada on the north, through Lakes George and Champlain, or to the westward through the Mohawk Valley and the Great Lakes. The greatest struggle for supremacy took place in this region. It is not to be wondered at that one of England's first major movements was directed toward the capture of New York. Driven out of Boston by General Washington in March, 1776, General Howe appeared in the harbor of New York in June, with 130 sail and 10,000 troops. His brother, Lord Howe, arrived soon after with some German soldiers and a British regiment. On August 1st, Clinton and Cornwallis arrived from the South with more soldiers, making a total of 31,000 English troops ready to assist in the capture of the city. Staten Island was occupied. General Washington had too few troops and they were quite unfitted to cope with the English soldiers. Driven back at Brooklyn Heights, in

the Battle of Long Island, he moved his army by a brilliant military coup to the Island of Manhattan. The province of this book is not, of course, to present the history of the Revolution, except as it has relation to the colony where the Dutch Church was flourishing. Suffice it to say that, with his ill-organized army, it was impossible for General Washington to hold his positions long. Driven from them, he seemed always able to get his troops away. His retreat to White Plains and across New Jersey, his stand at New Brunswick and Morristown, his victory at Trenton, and the winter at Valley Forge are well known.

But the city of New York was not the only objective of the English forces. Very early in the conflict a plan was conceived to send two armies into New York from the North, using the St. Lawrence River and the Canadian provinces and cities as bases, the one to devastate the Mohawk Valley by way of the Oswego-Niagara-Great Lakes route to Fort Schuyler* at Rome, New York, and the other to enter by way of the Lake Champlain-Hudson River route; both armies to meet at Albany and effect a further union with a force under Clinton from New York City, which, in its march up the Hudson Valley, would have subdued that region. It was a clever plan and, had it been carried out successfully, the whole history of this country—if not of the world—would have been profoundly modified. But St. Leger's force from the northwest, numbering some 1700 soldiers and loyalists, together with some Indians under the leadership of the great Brant, the Mohawk chief whose name was long a terror to the frontier settlements of the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys, of Cobleskill, of Cherry Valley and Wyoming, met defeat at Oriskany by General Herkimer and his 800 Tryon (Montgomery) County militiamen. It had been arranged for General Herkimer to attack St. Leger's forces simultaneously with a sortie from the fort by Colonel Ganse-voort's men, but the plan miscarried and General Herkimer's men had to bear the brunt of the heavy fighting, largely from ambush. It was a bloody encounter. General

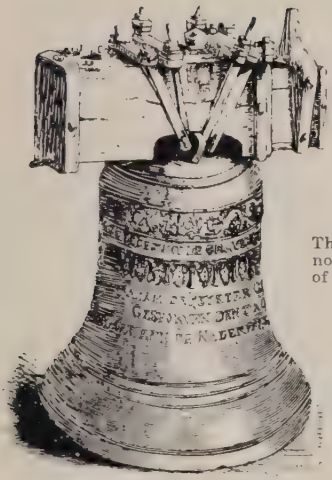
* Or, Fort Stanwix.



Reformed Church, Fort Herkimer, N. Y.—Erected about 1750, *still standing*

Herkimer's leg was shattered by a bullet which killed his horse under him, but he insisted on being propped up against a tree, and from there directed the battle. After the field had been won came the sortie from the fort, eight miles away, and the complete destruction of St. Leger's camp ensued. Tradition says that in this siege of Fort Stanwix a "Continental flag made by the officers of Colonel Ganse-voort's regiment was hoisted and a cannon leveled at the enemy's camp was fired." This same tradition says that this was the stars and stripes, made out of a white shirt, a blue coat, and the red petticoat of a soldier's wife, and that this was the first instance of such a flag of stars and stripes being unfurled in the face of the enemy. St. Leger's camp was rifled of twenty-one wagon loads of food, blankets, clothing, rifles and ammunition. All of Johnson's papers were captured, as well as the British flags, which were displayed on the fort with the new American flag above them. All hopes of the enemy of effecting a juncture with Burgoyne's army at Albany were dashed to the ground. General Herkimer was conveyed to his home, but the combination of a bad wound, unskilled medical treatment and his years—he was forty-nine years of age—were too much for the weakened body. "He died a few days later, calmly smoking his consoling German pipe and reading the 38th Psalm in the big family Bible." (Amer. Rev. in N. Y., 159.)

General Howe never made much headway toward the subjugation of the Hudson Valley. In 1777, General John Burgoyne undertook to carry out his part of the program of dividing the colonies by ascending Lake Champlain.



NEW YORK'S LIBERTY BELL

The Bell of the Old Middle Church (1729) now hanging in the Belfry of The Church of St. Nicholas, Fifth Avenue and Forty-Eighth Street, New York City



OLD STONE FORT—SCHOHARIE, N. Y.

Large Monument

that of David Williams, captor of Major Andre

devastating the upper Hudson Valley, and joining Howe in Albany. The first navy of the United States was fitted out on Lake Champlain, but only served to delay Burgoyne's progress somewhat. Ticonderoga fell before him in July. General Schuyler kept his way impeded so successfully that he was only able to make the twenty miles from Whitehall to Fort Edward in about the same number of days. When he appeared before Fort Edward, General Schuyler withdrew across the river to Stillwater. Schuyler was severely criticized for not risking a battle but the outcome proved the wisdom of his action. Pressed for supplies of food, horses and cattle, Burgoyne sent a force of some 1500 soldiers, loyalists and Indians toward Bennington to seize supplies known to be stored there, but they were defeated and captured by General Stark and his forces. News came of the defeat of St. Leger at Oriskany. Recruits kept pouring into General Schuyler's camp. Arnold hurried from the Mohawk. Morgan came with his famous riflemen. Putnam came from the Highlands. In the midst of preparation for battle, General Gates arrived with orders from Congress to supersede Schuyler. There was much disappointment among the troops.

The battle at Freeman's Farm, on September 19th, might have been a decisive one if Gates had acted with more of aggressiveness. As a result it was a deadlock. Burgoyne waited for news from Sir Henry Clinton, who was to lead the troops from New York to cooperate with him. But an apparent misunderstanding brought Clinton only to the capture of Forts Montgomery, Clinton and Constitution in the Highlands. His message to Burgoyne was intercepted. When the news of the latter's surrender on October 19th, at Saratoga, came, Clinton was discouraged. He contented himself with burning Kingston and, dismantling the forts, he returned to New York.

We present this much of the story of the Revolution because it occurred in the region where the Dutch Church was strongest. Saratoga is rightfully known as the deciding conflict of the Revolution. It has been written down

as one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world. We prefer to think of the whole Central New York campaign as the decisive blow. Without Oriskany where General Herkimer and Colonel Gansevoort turned back St. Leger, and without Bennington where General Stark and his men surrounded and captured Colonels Baum and Breyman of Burgoyne's forces, Saratoga might have had a different ending. It is said that there was not a home in the Mohawk Valley that did not mourn a loss after General Herkimer's victory, and the territory about Saratoga for a long time felt the effects of invasion. But the tide of fighting turned in favor of the colonists, and Yorktown was now not so far away. Before we leave it, however, let us note the names of some of these men. Herkimer and Schuyler of Palatine forbears; Colonel Van Schaick, commanding the First New York Regiment which saw service at Saratoga, Monmouth, Valley Forge and Yorktown; Colonel Van Cortlandt, commanding the Second New York Regiment, which saw service at Saratoga, Valley Forge, with the Sullivan expedition into Pennsylvania, and at Yorktown; Colonel Gansevoort, commanding the Third New York Regiment, with service at Fort Schuyler as noted, with Sullivan's expedition, and at Yorktown; Colonel Livingston, commanding the Fourth New York Regiment, seeing service at Saratoga, Monmouth, Valley Forge, Newport, with Sullivan's expedition, and at Yorktown; and Colonel DuBoys, commanding the Fifth New York Regiment, and seeing service at Fort Montgomery, with Sullivan's expedition and at Yorktown. It seems almost like calling the roll of Dutch Church names with Dutch, English, German and Huguenot represented among the commanding officers. These regiments were merged with others as the war went on. In the later organization of the American forces there were sixteen regiments of infantry, three regiments of artillery, and four regiments of cavalry, and many of the officers and men were from New York and New Jersey.

In the Province of New Jersey, especially in the portion where the Dutch Church was prominent, equally stirring

and important events were transpiring. General Washington, in his famous retreat from the vicinity of New York, crossed the Hudson at what is now Alpine, New Jersey, and continued his way to Hackensack, then to Passaic and then to New Brunswick. Three rivers were thus crossed on this memorable retreat through New Jersey. Followed closely by Cornwallis, it was expected that Washington might make a stand and risk battle at any one of these rivers. He did not, however, preferring not to risk pitting his poorly equipped and tired troops against the well-equipped forces of the English. After no such stand had been made at either the Hackensack or the Passaic, it was confidently believed that he would give battle to the enemy at the Raritan. But he writes to the Congress, under date of December 5, 1776, "At Brunswic . . . I was disappointed in my expectation of the militia, and . . . on the day of the enemy's approach the term of the Jersey and Maryland Brigades' service expired; neither of them would consent to stay another hour." On December 1st he had retreated to Princeton, and on the next day Cornwallis entered New Brunswick, which was occupied by the British troops until June 22, 1777. During this occupancy of the city, fortifications were thrown up on the hill on which the buildings of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America are now located, traces of which are said to have remained until 1850 or later. Washington spent the winter of 1776-7 at Morristown, N. J., and on resuming activities in the spring of 1777, the British forces evacuated New Brunswick. The following year Monmouth County witnessed a determined battle near Freehold, when the British forces were retreating from Philadelphia to Staten Island. In this battle a decisive victory was denied the patriot arms by the disobedience and churlishness of General Lee, who was later tried by court martial, found guilty of disobeying orders and relieved of his command for a year. The level reaches of the Freehold district and the heights of Middletown, where churches (First Freehold and Middletown) had been organized in 1699, echoed to the tread of patriot and

enemy troops. A number of trees are still pointed out in the latter region as places where General Washington and his men stopped to rest and cool off from the extreme heat of the day. The battle was fought in a temperature of 96 degrees in the shade.

The Dutch Church, its ministers and members, were almost without exception aligned with the patriot cause. The one outstanding exception was that of Domine Lydekker, who was pastor of the Reformed Church of English Neighborhood, at what is now Ridgefield, New Jersey. Because of his strong English sympathies, Domine Lydekker was obliged to flee within the British lines. Three other pastors openly joined the English cause, all in the vicinity of New York which, of course, was occupied during the greater part of the war by the forces of the Crown. While there is a natural regret that any of the Dutch ministers should have been found in the Tory ranks, there is yet some satisfaction—and there may have been a superintending providence—in it, since these pastors held together the Reformed congregations composed of those who were compelled to stay in the city during the conflict, so that the continuous history of the Reformed Church of New York from the days of Michaelius to this time has remained unbroken. When the actual pastors of those congregations were permitted to return after their exile they found their congregations ready to receive them.

The remainder of the forty-four ministers in this country at the outbreak of the Revolution openly and avowedly espoused the patriot cause. All historical authorities speak of this. Washington Irving bears testimony to the steadfast character of the Dutch patriots as follows:

> "The descendants of the old Dutch and Huguenot families were among the soundest and best of the population. They inherited the love of liberty, civil and religious, from their forefathers, and were those who stood foremost in the present battle for popular freedom."

Another authority has this to say:

> "Just as Anglicanism was the heart of Loyalism so Calvinism was the core of Republicanism. Although some members of the Congregational, Presbyterian, German Reformed and Dutch Re-

formed churches were Loyalists, a majority of the Revolutionists were affiliated with the Calvinistic denominations . . . In New York the powerful Dutch Reformed Church supported the American cause in every possible way, but there were exceptions like the Reverend Garret Lydekker who ministered to the Dutch Loyalists in St. George's Chapel, the Reverend Hermanus Lancelot Boelen of Oyster Bay, and the Reverend Joannes Casparus Rubel . . . The . . . Reformed Church in the Mohawk Valley was uniformly patriotic." (Amer. Rev. in N. Y., Univ. of the St. of N. Y., p. 241.)

Another testimony from a more intimate and interested source is that of President William H. S. Demarest, in his history of Rutgers College, chapter 5, where, in recording the patriotic activities of the Reverend Jacob Rutsen Hardenbergh, founder and president pro tem of the college during the Revolution, he quotes from a letter written by William Livingston, Governor of New Jersey, to Henry Laurens, president of the Continental Congress, thus:

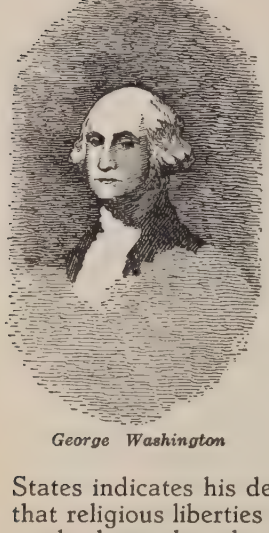
"Mr. Hardenbergh is a Dutch clergyman who has been exceedingly instrumental in promoting the cause of America;—and the Low Dutch clergy, both in this and the State of New York, are almost universally firm friends of these United States."

According to the same authority, General Washington spent the winter of 1779, with Mrs. Washington, in a home at Raritan, New Jersey, next door to that of Domine Hardenbergh. A warm and enduring friendship between the General and the Domine sprang up as a result of the close and frequent social contacts. When General Washington took up his campaign in the spring, Domine Hardenbergh and his consistory addressed a letter of appreciation to him, and received from him a prompt reply as follows:

"The Minister, Elders and Deacons of the
Dutch Reformed Church at Raritan.

Camp Middlebrook, 2 June, 1779.

Gentlemen, To meet the approbation of good men cannot but be agreeable. Your affectionate expressions make it still more so. In quartering my army and in supplying its wants, distress and inconvenience will often occur to the citizen. I feel myself happy in the consciousness that these have been strictly limited by necessity, and in your opinion of my attention to the rights of my fellow citizens. I thank you, Gentlemen, sincerely, for the sense you entertain of the conduct of the army, and for the interest you take in my welfare. I trust the goodness of the cause, and the



George Washington

exertions of the people, under Divine protection, will give us that honorable peace for which we are contending. Suffer me, Gentlemen, to wish the Reformed Church at Raritan, a long continuance of its present minister and consistory, and all the blessings which flow from piety and religion.

G. Washington."

Thé First Reformed Church of Kingston, New York, is in possession also of an original letter from General Washington written to the Minister, Elders and Deacons of that church in reply to a message of congratulation and felicitation sent to him by them in 1782. In this the victorious general and first president-to-be of the United States indicates his deep interest in religion, his conviction that religious liberties are as essential as civil, and expresses the hope that they "May be able to hand down your (their) Religion pure and undefiled, to a posterity worthy of their Ancestors."

The Dutch churches and congregations suffered for their devotion to the patriot cause. Domine Ritzema went into exile, first at Tarrytown and then at Kinderhook, N. Y., where he ministered to the Dutch families. He reports that, at the time of his residence in Kinderhook, there were about one thousand Dutch families between Claverack and Albany. Domine De Ronde went to Saugerties, N. Y. Dr. Laidlie, the only English-born Dutch pastor in New York City at the time, died in exile at Red Hook, N. Y. Dr. Livingston spent the years of his absence in various places in the region of the upper Hudson, where his preaching and personality were a source of great inspiration to the suffering colonists. Dr. Westerlo, of Albany, was a tower of strength to the American cause, especially at the time when Burgoyne appeared to be threatening the city. Domine Romeyn, of

Hackensack, was robbed of all his belongings by the Tories, because of his sympathies with the patriotic cause, and driven into exile for two years. Domine Dubois, of Monmouth County, N. J., took up arms on the American side and did his term of service "like a packhorse." Domine Foering, of Millstone, N. J., was compelled to flee from his home in the dead of winter, while British soldiers were quartered in his house. He died from the effects of this exposure. Domine Hardenbergh and his sacrifices for the patriot cause have been noted in another connection. He was a hunted man and it is said that he slept, during this period, with a loaded gun within reach of his bed.

Church buildings in the areas occupied by British soldiers were treated with scant courtesy. The new Dutch Church in New York was first used as a prison and later as a riding academy. The North Dutch Church was used as a hospital. A second floor was put in at the level of the galleries, making it a two-story building. The furniture of the churches was frequently carried away to England. The pulpit of the New York Church was found many years afterward in London. The church at New Brunswick, N. J., was used first as a stable and later as a hospital. The churches at Raritan and Hillsborough were burned by the British. The account of such happenings, however, does not tell in any adequate manner the story of the sufferings of the patriot Dutch and others. But such misfortunes could not turn them away from their purpose. They had put their hands to the plow and they were not inclined to turn back.

With the close of the Revolution and the coming of peace, the Church, like the nation, faced a new situation. True, they had been partially prepared for separation. They had been fighting for principles and, at the beginning, at least, they had not contemplated an existence apart from the mother country. All they were looking for was recognition as fellow-countrymen. They resented the feudalistic attitude of the home government. It was inevitable, however, that the separation should follow.

When it came they suddenly found themselves a new nation, with all the solemn responsibilities of a sovereign people. A similar condition confronted each Protestant denomination. It now was sovereign in its field. The comfort and degree of satisfaction, arising from the feeling that the Church abroad was carrying the burden of final responsibility, was taken away. The Dutch Church, and the others, had each to formulate its own polity and policy, and take its place in the national life. Dr. Livingston returned to his people in New York, and resumed what proved to be a fruitful ministry in the church, in Rutgers College and in the Theological Seminary, and which was destined to continue until his death in 1825. We shall note the organization of the Theological Seminary in the Chapter on the growth of the educational program of the Church. Another of Dr. Livingston's great contributions to the Reformed Church was his part in the formulation of the constitution adopted in 1791. In the discussions attendant upon the formulation and adoption of this historic document, his wisdom, genius and ability, as well as courtesy, tact and dignity had ample opportunity for exercise.

After some years of study and formulation by a committee of which he was a prominent member, the organization of the Church was effected in practically the form in which it exists to-day. This plan of organization involves for the local congregation, government by a consistory composed of elders and deacons chosen from among the male, adult members of the church and elected for a period of two years each, the terms of office of only one-half of them expiring in any one year. They, with the minister who is by virtue of his office president of the consistory, have full charge of the affairs and interests of the congregation. The minister, (who is a *preaching elder* in contradistinction to the others who are *ruling* elders) and the ruling elders, have charge of the definitely spiritual interests of the congregation; they receive, dismiss, admonish, rebuke and excommunicate members, and represent the congregation in the higher judicatories. To the



QUEENS CAMPUS IN 1849



PAYNE GATE AT UNION COLLEGE

deacons, custom generally commits the "temporalities" of the church, but the constitution directs that their special charge shall be the care of the poor of the church. Church properties are acquired, held or disposed of, by and in the name of the consistory.

The next higher governing body is the Classis, composed of a minister and one elder from each of the churches within its bounds. The boundaries of a classis are fixed usually on the basis of comparative ease of communication, in order that the business of the classis may be expedited and the interests of the constituent churches served by a body familiar with local conditions. The Classis meets in Stated Session twice a year, and may meet oftener if necessary. It has general supervision of the churches within its bounds, advises upon the choice of ministers for vacant churches, approves calls, ordains candidates and installs pastors. It is a court of appeal from the decisions of a consistory.

A higher body still is the Particular Synod, which is composed of delegates from the churches of a certain number of classes within a designated area. Two ministers and two elders from each classis within the bounds of the Particular Synod are named each year to be the delegates to this Synod. The Particular Synod reviews the acts of the classes, and elects the delegates (on the nomination of the classes) to the General Synod. It is also a court of appeal from the decision of a classis.

The supreme judicatory of the Reformed Church in America is the General Synod, which meets annually. It is composed of ministers and elders from the various classes, the number varying according to the number of church members in the classes. These delegates are nominated by the classes and elected by the Particular Synod. The General Synod reviews the work of the whole church, of its benevolent Boards (Education, Missionary and Relief), initiates policies and authorizes activities, interprets the constitution, legislates for the denomination and is the final court of appeal.

Thus, the Reformed Church in America is, in its government, a representative democracy.

The General Synod of 1791 which adopted the Articles of Church Government also reaffirmed the position of the Reformed Church with respect to doctrine. The government was destined to admit of some minor changes with the passing of the years, the constitution having been revised at least three times since its adoption and printing in English in 1792. But neither the government nor the doctrinal position of the Church has suffered any material change. Its confessions of faith have always been phrased in experimental terms. Having expressed itself from the beginning of Reformation times in terms of its religious experiences, it has found no difficulty in fellowship with those who hold to the experience basis of theology. At the same time it is tenacious of its belief in revealed religion. It is, and always has been, loyal to the Holy Scriptures as the word of God. The historical expressions of it beliefs are found in the three early creeds, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, and the following great documents:

1. *The Belgic Confession,* originally drawn up by the martyr, Guido de Bres, and corresponding in contents and spirit with those of all other Reformed Churches in Great Britain and on the Continent.

2. *The Heidelberg Catechism,* the work of Ursinus and Olivianus. Being a confession of experience as well as of faith, it has been translated into well-nigh twenty languages, and more widely diffused over the world than any other catechism.

3. *The Canons of the Synod of Dort.* These are the carefully prepared articles on what are known as the Five Points of Calvinism. Although clear and decided in character, they are so genial in tone and expression as to have won favor among all the Reformed.

While the Reformed Church accepted the standards, polity and usages derived from Holland, she has always welcomed to her ministry or membership additions from

other evangelical bodies. She is to-day a cosmopolitan church. In her membership are to be found names of many nationalities, and, especially in the city churches, representatives of practically all evangelical denominations appear on the rolls. Her intermediary position between the liturgical and non-liturgical churches gives her favor with both. She is semi-liturgical and non-prelatical. Not a few from other denominations have entered her ministry and her membership, have become strongly attached to her order and character and by their loyalty have greatly increased her strength. Her chief characteristics have been and are a strong love for doctrinal truth, insistence upon an educated ministry, great zeal for her views on faith and order, but with it a large charity for and fellowship with all others who hold to Christ, the Head.

Her work for the Kingdom is administered, as a denomination, through the following boards:

1. *The Board of Direction,* which is the custodian of the funds of the General Synod, including the endowments of the seminaries, etc.

2. *The Board of Education,* which labors in the areas of Student Aid, Recruiting for the Ministry, Christian Education, Relations with and Assistance to the Educational Institutions of the denomination.

3. *The Board of Domestic Missions,* which aids the weaker and newer churches, seeks to establish others where needed, labors among the Negroes of the South, the Italians and Hungarians of the large cities and, in conjunction with the Women's Board of Domestic Missions, among the Indians of Chiapas, Mexico.

4. *The Board of Foreign Missions,* which maintains missions in South India; in Fukien Province China; in Japan, Arabia and Mesopotamia.

5. *The Church Building Fund,* which aids in erecting buildings for new church enterprises not yet self-supporting.

6. *The Board of Publication and Bible School Work,* which issues denominational literature, takes leadership in religious education and evangelism, and maintains a book depository.

7. *The Disabled Ministers' Fund,* which provides for the relief of ministers who are laid aside by age or infirmity.

8. *The Widows' Fund,* which provides for the widows and children of such ministers as have had a financial interest in it.

9. *The Woman's Board of Foreign Missions,* which assists in carrying the Gospel to the women and children of India, China, Japan and Arabia, cooperating with the Board of Foreign Missions.

10. *The Women's Board of Domestic Missions,* organized as The Women's Executive Committee of the Board of Domestic Missions, which aids in building parsonages and equipping churches, and maintains missions among the Immigrants, Indians, Kentucky Mountains and in Chiapas, Mexico.

11. *The Ministers' Fund,* the latest organized, striving to complete an endowment of One Million Dollars in this Tercentenary Year, for ministerial pensions.

The offices of all these Boards are located in the
Reformed Church Building,
25 East 22nd Street, New York City.

In addition to these, the Reformed Church in America is interested in and contributes to The American Bible Society, which was organized in 1816 in the Garden Street Church; The American Tract Society; the Fulton Street Prayer-Meeting, which was organized in 1857 and meets under its auspices, and many others.

What the fathers did in 1791 was well done. Revisions of the Constitution have been made since, but in each instance no essential feature was changed. The government of the church is on the basis of a representative democracy. The organization for kingdom service through Boards was not all foreseen at the beginning, but has been a growth as the educational, missionary and relief features arose in the denominational consciousness. At present the spirit of the church is exemplified in its conviction of the universality of the gospel and its efforts to do its share in making the kingdoms of this world the kingdom of God and His Christ.

CHAPTER VI.

Development Through Institutions of Culture and Nurture

The years following the adoption of the constitution in 1791-1792 have been years of development and growth, both by natural increase from within and by accretion from without. At the time of the adoption of the constitution there were one hundred and sixteen churches and forty ministers, mostly in New York and New Jersey. One hundred and thirty years later, according to the Minutes of the General Synod of 1927, there were seven hundred and forty-one churches and eight hundred and seven ministers and candidates. These figures, with the records of the years between, tell an interesting story. To present this story with some of the implications and inferences that may be drawn from these indications of growth will be the task of this and the succeeding chapter.

It is not difficult to visualize the situation in which the country found itself at the close of the Revolutionary War. A war-wearied population; ruined (in some cases) churches and public buildings; poverty where once was wealth; a country swept by the ravages of bitter conflict; a national government to be established, with legislative, judicial and executive departments to be organized; all the functions of government to be formulated and the machinery to be created for carrying them on; in short, a sovereign state to be set up, among what, only ten years or so before, were only scattered colonies with greatly variant tendencies, customs, desires and motives, and little of common interest; commerce to be developed, treaties made, international relationships to be conserved, business organized, education provided for, criminality to be restrained, industry encouraged, and a host of other prob-

lems to be met and solved, which taxed the resources of the new nation and the ingenuity and initiative of its statesmen—these are some elements in the situation which the colonies and, in no small degree, our Dutch people, faced. It was not so different in the church.

It is not surprising, of course, to note that there was a serious decline of practical piety and religious interest following upon the war. War is always accompanied and followed by a decline in piety. The fathers complained emphatically in the pastoral letter to the churches, formulated by the Synod of 1800, of the condition in the church, to the effect that those were "times when error and infidelity greatly prevail." "We must call upon you," they said to the churches, "deeply to lament with us the visible declension of vital piety through our land in general, and, we are sorry to add, throughout our churches. We cannot but regret . . . the small number of conversions, . . .the few accessions of professors even to the visible church; the loose lives of many who bear the Christian name; the heinous profanation of the Lord's Day; the shameful neglect of the word and ordinances; . . . the baneful progress of infidelity and its inevitable consequences, licentious principles and practises. Who, at this representation of facts, does not feel emotions of sorrow and alarm? Who, attentive to the common course of Divine Providence, does not apprehend still more awful judgments, both upon our country and upon our churches, than we have yet experienced? Has not the Lord had a controversy with us? Has He not manifested his displeasure, by those awful tokens of his wrath, pestilence and fire? Has he not threatened us with war? Has he not frowned upon our churches, withdrawn in a great measure the influences of his Spirit, caused his people to mourn, and his prophets to prophesy in sackcloth?" So, indeed, does war leave its awful trail across the lives of a people. This is but another indictment of an outworn method of settling disputes between nations, that has little to commend it except its power to destroy in all areas physical, mental and spiritual—if such be a commendation. Small wonder that the

present generation of Christians is crying out vehemently for the outlawing forever of this surviving monster of less enlightened days.

The efforts of the leaders of the church to effect a permanent and efficient organization have been noted. With the church organized under the constitution, with the various departments functioning in the local congregation, Classis, Particular Synod and General Synod, it was ready, so far as organization could fit it for the task, to face its problems not only in the regions where its congregations were found, but also in the wider areas where the Gospel was needed, and where it was plainly the responsibility of the Reformed Church to give it to the people. But before it was ready to "lengthen its cords," there was necessary a consolidation, or a massing of forces and the creation of leadership. This matter of leadership—ministers to go before and guide the churches in their local and benevolent activities—has always loomed large in the problems of the Reformed Church, and does even to this day.

Without leaders an army is little more than a mob. A movement is never any greater than its leadership. The character of its leadership usually determines the degree of success of an enterprise. Historians speak of the Reformed Church at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War as "The powerful Dutch Reformed Church." It was not so because of its large numbers. The secret of this power will probably be found in the fact that, from the very beginning, the ministers who came over to serve the churches in this country were, almost without exception—and the exceptions did not remain long—university-trained men from Domine Michaelius down. They had the best that the best universities of Europe could give them. They wrote their theses and declaimed, as occasion required, in Latin. They were trained to thoughtful discrimination. It was a privilege for congregations to sit under the preaching of pastors with such education. The people could not but absorb some, at least, of their culture, and their minds could not fail to be enlarged, their vocabularies

enriched and their whole horizon greatly widened by listening to and from contact with such men, week after week. Nearly a century and a half of such experiences were, indeed, one of the great factors in making this Church, in 1775, such as the historian of New York State describes it, as quoted above. (Amer. Rev. in N. Y., Univ. of the St. of N. Y., 241.)

So it is not strange to find in the Reformed Church two elements that are distinctly characteristic of this communion of believers. The one is its interest in education and the other its insistence upon a trained leadership, or ministry. Both of these are inheritances from the fatherland. They had been accustomed to the public school and they brought it with them from the Netherlands when they came to New Netherland. When they built the "Church in the Fort," they built beside it the schoolhouse, and when they imported the domine from the fatherland they imported the schoolmaster also. The first of these schoolmasters was Adam Roelandsen who came in 1633. The records of *The Collegiate School* of New York City, associated with the Collegiate Church, date from 1637. This school has had a continuous existence since that time. There is reason to believe that other schools of similar character were established in connection with our churches wherever those churches were found. There is record of church schools on Long Island, at Albany, in New Jersey and in the Hudson and Mohawk Valleys. With the later immigration of Hollanders and Germans in the middle of the 19th century and their settlement in Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, the Dakotas, etc., other schools were established, of the "academy," or secondary grade, as well as colleges and a theological seminary. This was the case also in the earlier years of the New York and New Jersey colonies. The academies of the Middle West have persisted—some five of them—to this day. They are found, two of them in connection with Hope and Central Colleges, and one each in Orange City, Iowa, Cedar Grove, Wisconsin, and German Valley, Illinois. The growth and development of the public high schools has gradually re-

moved in large measure the incentive and necessity for such secondary Schools, just as the elementary schools of the public school system have taken the place of the parochial school. These academies have disappeared, therefore, from the eastern section of the church, as circumstances seem to point to their ultimate abandonment in other sections. The brethren of the Christian Reformed Church, which is a combination of some five churches and others of subsequent growth, which withdrew from our fellowship in 1822, calling themselves the "True Reformed Church," together with other secessions occurring in 1890, and strengthened by accessions from the Netherlands in later years until it embraces to-day some 250 churches, still lay great store by the "Christian School," or parochial school and the "Christian High School," maintained under the auspices of the church.

One of these earlier secondary or "Grammar" schools was established at Hackensack and another in New Brunswick, New Jersey, the latter becoming the Rutgers Preparatory School. This school and Rutgers College owe their start, in large measure, to the heroic efforts of Domine Theodore Frelinghuysen, pastor of the church at Albany from 1745 to 1759. The death of his two brothers, Ferdinandus and Jacobus, on shipboard, while returning from study in Holland, made him an earnest advocate of independence for the American Church, with an American university for the education of its ministers. He was hampered by the adverse attitude of his congregation, and kept silent for some years. But when his two brothers died on their return to this country just after ordination, he threw away restraint and began an active campaign for independence and a university. In the dead of winter, 1755, he saddled his horse and rode south along the west bank of the Hudson River, visiting the churches on his way, passing also into New Jersey and consulting the ministers there, and returned along the east bank of the river, presenting this matter to the churches in that region. His plea was for the establishment of "An academy where our youth, who are devoted to study, may receive instruc-

tion." He called a conference of the ministers, "as a friend and brother," to convene in New York on May 27, 1755. This conference, attended by the ministers from all parts of the country where there were Dutch churches, met, formulated a plan for the organization of the American Church, and voted that the proposal for an academy or college should be put into operation. It authorized Domine Frelinghuysen to present the proposals to the Classis in Amsterdam, and to raise funds in the Netherlands for the school. He was not able to go to the Netherlands, however, until 1759. But in the meantime he wrote letters to the Classis in which he argued the importance of such action. He regretted that the Dutch Church, which was strong and powerful, which had been the first to give the Gospel to these regions, had neither classis nor synod, "nor any university for instructing those who would give themselves to the study of the learned languages, the sciences and arts, and especially Sacred Theology . . . By far the largest number of the congregations of our Reformed Church in this Province of New York, and in the neighboring one of New Jersey, have already entered into a Union or an Alliance and Covenant in order . . . to establish a nursery (Kweekschool) for the promotion of pure learning."* He had an able ally in the Reverend David Marinus of Acquackanonck, who championed the cause enthusiastically. Domine Marinus rejected the idea of an alliance with Princeton in New Jersey or King's in New York, advocated by some, and informed his opponents—and they were strong and influential—"That we don't choose to have too near a connection with either; but intend, please God, an Academy of our own, for the free education of our youth." These sentiments were enthusiastically seconded also by the church at Kingston, through its minister, Reverend G. W. Mancius.

Some years were to elapse, however, before a charter for a college was to be secured. Domine Frelinghuysen went to Holland on his mission in 1759, but died on his return in 1761, just after reaching the shores of America.

* History of Rutgers College, Demarest.

His successor in the work had already been prepared in the providence of God by his brother, John, pastor at Raritan, Millstone and North Branch 1750-4. In the parsonage at Raritan had been trained Jacob Rutsen Hardenbergh, as had been other students of theology in other parsonages. He had been born at Rosendale in the New Paltz Patent, Ulster County, New York, in 1736. Natural aptitude and early desire for the work of the ministry brought him to the home of Domine John Frelinghuysen, at Raritan, New Jersey. He was destined to remain there for some years for, after the death of his instructor, he married the widow, was ordained by the Coetus in 1758, one of the few men of our Church to receive ordination in America before the Revolution, and accepted the call of the church at Raritan, New Jersey, in association with the churches of Readington, Bedminster, Harlingen and Neshanic. He journeyed to the Netherlands to urge the elevation of the American churches into a classis, but not to ask permission of the mother country to establish an educational institution. He was clear-minded enough to see that this was not in the power of the Classis of Amsterdam to grant. It was a matter for the people of America to decide. He began a campaign in Holland for funds for the new institution without, apparently, consulting the Classis of Amsterdam, and was soundly rebuked by them. He returned to America, probably without many funds for the new enterprise, but with no less zeal for the accomplishment of it. He was ably seconded by Domine Samuel Verbryck of Tappan, New York, Domine Goetschius of Hackensack, and Domine Leydt of New Brunswick. In spite of the opposition of the Conferentie party headed by Domine Ritzema of New York, they persevered. In 1766, Governor William Franklin of New Jersey, son of Benjamin Franklin, under date of November 10th and in the name of King George III granted a charter "To erect a college called Queen's College in the Province of New Jersey, and a Corporation or Body Politic, together with all the privileges, powers, authorities and rights belonging thereto as is customary

and lawful in any College of His Majesty's realm of Great Britain." The first meeting of the board of trustees was called for the second Tuesday of May, 1767, "at or near the country house of New Barbadoes, Hackensack Town, in Bergen County," New Jersey.

Properly to evaluate the contribution which Queens College has made to the life of America would require more space than is at our disposal here. A word is ventured. Her graduates are to be found in all the prominent callings and professions. She gave to the army of General Washington one of her earliest graduates, Simeon DeWitt, first as assistant and later as geographer. Literally hundreds of her graduates have entered the work of the ministry and mission field, a large proportion of them enriching the Reformed Church by their lives and labors. She has furnished presidents for colleges and seminaries, for at least one medical school as well as for one of our large railroad systems and one of our greatest life insurance companies. Her sons have been found in the halls of Congress, in state assemblies and senates, in the supreme courts of states and the Supreme Court of the United States. They have represented our country in foreign courts and have served in high position in our army and navy. A few names may be mentioned as earnest of many more that might be quoted—Jeremiah Smith, member of Congress, Governor of New Hampshire, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire; Samuel Kennedy Jennings, President of Washington College; Edward Mundy, successively Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, and Justice of the Supreme Court of Michigan; these of the earlier generation of Alumni. In the period 1825-1875, Reverend Philip Milledoler, D. D., President of Rutgers; Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, United States Senator and Secretary of State; Joseph P. Bradley, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Cortlandt Parker, President of the American Bar Association; John Romeyn Brodhead, historian; Robert H. Pruyn, United States Minister to Japan; Hon. Garret A. Hobart, Vice President of the United States, and Edward G. Janeway, the fore-

most physician of his time. Of its living alumni, many are found in places of leadership in this and other lands.

But the crowning achievement in education, to the Dutch mind, is the training in theology. This is the "Queen of the Sciences." So the secondary school and the college are only the stepping-stones on the way to theology and the ministry. Queens College was founded for the purpose of "Study in the learned languages and in the liberal arts, and in the philosophical sciences; *also that it may be a school of the prophets in which young Levites and Nazarites of God may be prepared to enter upon the sacred ministerial office.*" Most of the colleges established in this country in the earlier period of its history were founded for the purpose of training ministers for the pulpits of the land.

As already stated, students of the Reformed Church in this country received their training in theology in the Netherlands during the earlier years of the existence of the church in this land. With the growth of the church and the difficulties and expense of making that long journey across the ocean to secure ordination, there arose a natural desire to see the church so organized in this country, with schools properly accredited, that the church could be self-perpetuating through the raising up and training of its own leaders. Clear-visioned people in the churches saw the imperative necessity of an indigenous ministry. Efforts to form an American Classis began soon after the period of the "Great Awakening," although the suggestion had been made many years before by Domine Polhemus of Brooklyn. These efforts, however, were not to reach fruition with the full consent and cooperation of all parties concerned, until the chartering of Queens College in 1766 and the adoption of the Plan of Union prepared and advocated by Dr. John H. Livingston in 1771. In the meantime, however, ministers were receiving training in this country. They studied in the homes of pastors and received ordination at the hands of the Coetus, even though the validity of their ordination was questioned by the Conferentie and the Classis of Amsterdam. Notable

instances of such training were the preparation of William Jackson, Rynier Van Nest and Jacob Rutsen Hardenbergh at the Raritan, N. J., parsonage by Domine John Frelinghuysen.

It is known also that, prior to 1770, Erickzon of Freehold and Middletown, Goetschius of Hackensack and Schraalenbergh, Leydt of New Brunswick, Hardenbergh of Raritan, and Westerlo of Albany, had trained young men for the sacred office. The Revolutionary War interrupted this kind of service, as well as many other types of church work. But immediately upon the close of conflict, with the resumption of church activities, the Synod gave itself to a consideration of the problem of theological education. In 1784, Dr. John H. Livingston of New York and Dr. Hermanus Meyer of Totowa, New Jersey, were elected to the positions of Professor of Theology and Professor of Sacred Languages respectively, and the actual existence of the seminary—now the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America at New Brunswick, New Jersey, the first one established in this country—began. For the first twenty-six years the work of instruction was carried on principally in New York, but in 1810 the Seminary was removed to New Brunswick and united with Rutgers College, which had been reopened, work having been suspended in the college after the commencement of 1795. In addition to filling the office of professor of theology, Dr. Livingston was chosen president of the college, with a vice-president to share some of the burdens of that office. He served as a most successful pastor in New York for a period of forty years. He sacrificed a salary of $2500. per year for one of $1650., later increased to $1700. together with $300. per year additional for house rent. Two years later the receipts of the trustees were sufficient to pay him only $1200., which he accepted and generously released them from obligation to pay the remainder.

The Seminary opened at New Brunswick in October, 1810, with five students. Shortly after, through the efforts of Dr. Livingston, came the well-known bequest of Rev-

erend Elias Van Bunschooten of $14,500., later increased to $17,000. by further provision of the will, and since then increased to $20,000. by the addition of accrued interest to the principal. Thus was begun that system of scholarship aid for theological students by reason of which our Church has achieved a reputation for generosity in the treatment of its students for the ministry, and for the administration of which the Board of Education, R. C. A., was organized, first as a private body in 1828 and as a Board of the General Synod in 1831. The Seminary has had an uninterrupted existence since that time. Endowments have been secured, property on Seminary Place, New Brunswick, has been acquired and buildings erected thereon through the generosity of friends in the church. A succession of noble men and efficient teachers have filled the various chairs. In 1884, the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Seminary was observed with fitting ceremonies. In 1888, the curriculum and method of management were thoroughly revised to bring the school into line with institutions of a similar nature, and again in 1923 further revision of the methods of government and the curriculum, with the election of several new members to the faculty and the accession to the presidency of Reverend William H. S. Demarest, D.D., LL.D., placed the seminary on a footing with the better-than-the-average of such institutions in this country. At the present time it ministers to a goodly body of undergraduates, with graduate and extension work that reach more than half a hundred of our ministers and others eager for further study. Graduate credit and degrees are granted in accordance with the best educational practise through the cooperation of Rutgers College. Its faculty is composed of six full-time professors, in addition to the President, who lectures on church government, and there is provision for instruction in music and elocution. Numerous lectureships are also provided in missions and other topics as well as in cooperation with the Secretaries of the various Boards of the Church.

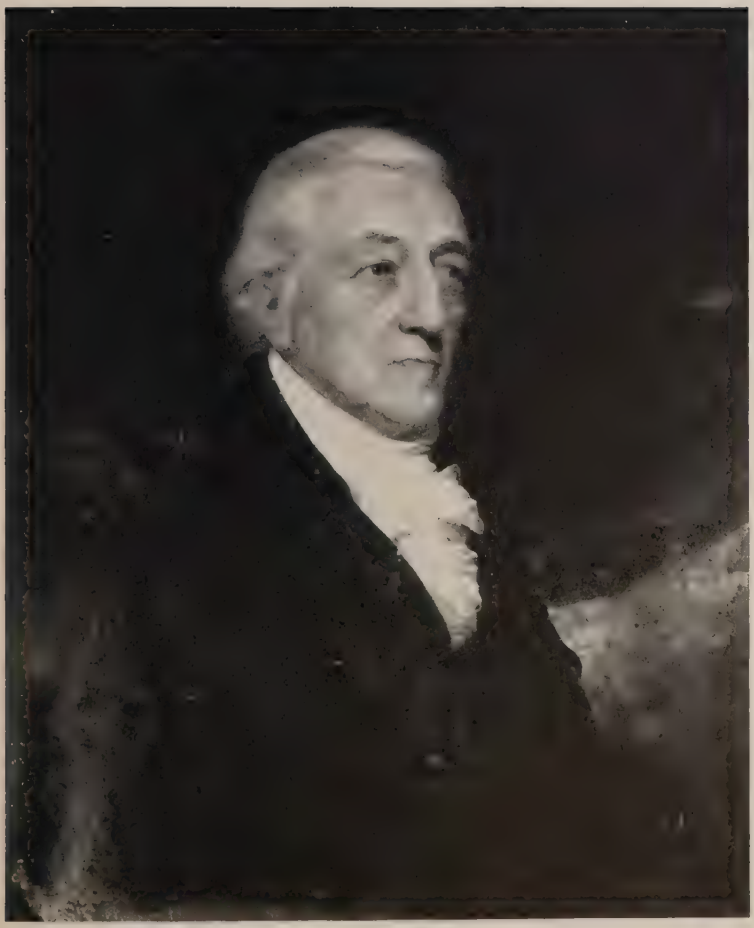
A second Seminary for the western section of the

church was opened in 1866 at Holland, Michigan. A college had become an actuality in that city, and when it graduated its first class in 1866, seven members of the class petitioned the General Synod to provide measures whereby they might be enabled to pursue their studies in theology in the same institution. The Synod referred the matter to "the Board of Education, R.C.A., and the Council of Hope College, with the instructions, that leave be granted these students to pursue their theological studies at Hope College, provided that no measures shall be instituted by which additional expenses shall be thrown upon the Synod, or the Board of Education at this time." It appears that these students were given instruction in theology that year, although no election of a professor of theology was held, the members of the faculty at Hope acting as instructors in theology. The next year there was further agitation and a committee appointed by the General Synod to study the situation reported to the effect that—

> "In their judgment it would be most disastrous to our existing educational institutions and to our churches in the West and also to our Domestic Missionary operations there to withdraw from Hope College at the present time the privilege of theological instruction. We believe the future will demonstrate that the action of the last General Synod was both wise and timely, and that no backward step should be taken."

On the report of this committee, the Synod elected the Reverend Cornelius E. Crispell, D.D., Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology. The professors in the College were again invited to continue to act as lectors. Provision was made for the government of the Seminary by a Board of Superintendents.

But the history of educational institutions does not flow on as peacefully, and in as uniformly progressive a manner in all the years as such a short resume of the beginnings would seem to prophesy, or as the record of the founding and the enthusiasms of the first few years would seem to portend. In the first half century of the history of Rutgers College there were fitful starts and disappointing lapses. That history was reproduced in the founding of Hope



COLONEL HENRY RUTGERS

College and the Western Theological Seminary. Whether all the blame for the disappointing years and the suspension of instruction at the Western Seminary in 1877 can be placed upon the "short-sighted party in the East," or the "reactionary party of the West," or both, remains for further historical research to decide. The facts probably are that the Reformed Church at that time was too small to support adequately two institutions of that character. Here is also an early outcropping of that unfortunate feeling of sectionalism that is not unknown in other areas of our national life, as well as in many of the denominations. The West was divided on the subject, the East was apathetic toward a second seminary. The verdict of history will probably be that what happened was about what could have been expected to happen. The Seminary closed its doors for seven years. Hope College was in a precarious condition. The Committee on the Professorate reported to the General Synod of 1877 that "Help must be given at once or the college doors must be closed." It was not an unusual state of affairs in the early history of colleges and seminaries.

In 1884 the Seminary reopened and has never been closed since. It appears now that it is destined to remain as one of the strong institutions of our Church and of our country. Names that are written in large letters in the history of it in the last two decades or more are those of Steffens, Moerdyke, Dosker, Beardslee, Zwemer and others. These men wrought wisely and well. Indeed, the financial prosperity of the Seminary is inseparably bound up with the name of Reverend James F. Zwemer, D.D., Professor and Financial Agent, later relieved of his duties as professor to be Financial Agent alone. No task of money raising seemed too difficult for him to undertake. By slow and painful effort, but effort which to him was a joy, he wrought until he had placed the finances of the Seminary on such a firm foundation of endowment and church interest that it has moved steadily on. To-day its faculty numbers six, with other lecturers. Its physical facilities are taxed beyond capacity to care for its student

body of fifty-five. It looks forward to an era of unprecedented service.

A phase of the life of the church which is closely allied to education, particularly the training of students for the ministry, is the work done by the Board of Education, R. C. A., organized as previously stated. Scholarship aid for students preparing for certain professions has long been and still is recognized as a practical necessity. Particularly is this true of such professions as teaching and the ministry. The State recognizes this and provides for the training of teachers in its normal schools, where tuition and books are provided at the public expense. The government recognizes it in the training of its officers for the army and navy, when it subsidizes their schooling. In a profession like teaching or the ministry it is a generally accepted principle that the expected salaries are not sufficient to warrant borrowing much money to pay the expenses of their education by students training for them. As a consequence there are the various forms of scholarship aid that have been devised. The Reformed Church at a very early period recognized this necessity and made provision to aid its students of theology. It has always demanded an educated ministry. It frowns upon "short cuts" into this profession. It requires a preparation for its ministers of graduation from a high school, a diploma from a standard four-year college, and a professorial certificate showing three years of work in a theological seminary. Its first ministers brought to this country were university-trained men. It expects no less of preparation for its ministers to-day.

But to finance such a course of education is more than the average young man who contemplates the ministry can manage, and his salary prospects are not sufficient to justify him in incurring debt. Therefore, unless there are to be frequent interruptions in his course, by each one of which his chances of entering the ministry are greatly lessened, as experience proves, he must needs have scholarship aid. It is a significant fact that a large majority of the young men who choose this profession come from

homes of moderate, or below the average of means. It has been estimated that approximately one-half of all Protestant ministers come from the rural districts, and about one-seventh from the parsonages.

The need of ministers has been a pressing one in the Reformed Church from the beginning. With the later years the need has not been so apparent as when the church had to look to the Netherlands for its pastors, or the ministers themselves had to add to their duties of shepherding congregations the training of their successors in the sacred office. The expense of the long course was and always has been a barrier to many. Various devices were tried to secure funds for student aid. "Cent Societies" were organized in the churches. "Education Societies" were formed in the Classes. Part of the profits from the sale of copies of the Church Liturgy and Psalms was devoted to this purpose. In 1814 came the Van Bunschooten Bequest, the income of which was to be used for this purpose. This was followed by a bequest from Mrs. Rebecca Knox of Philadelphia. Many others have been received in the course of the years and are still coming from friends of this cause.

On May 7, 1828, a group of ministers and elders met in the consistory room of the Collegiate Church, New York, and organized "The Education Society of the Reformed Dutch Church." They adopted a constitution and formulated plans for raising money for student aid. It was soon found, however, that this was not a task for private enterprise. It was a work for the whole church, and had to be done by the denomination. The Society, therefore, went to the General Synod and laid the matter before the brethren at the session of 1831. A layman, Colonel Henry Rutgers, for whom Rutgers College was named, was the first president of the "Education Society." The Synod of 1831 took them over, renamed them "The Board of Education of the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church," and appointed a committee to revise their constitution and formulate broader plans for student aid. This was the first benevolent board of the

church to be organized, is often referred to in the Minutes of General Synod as "The first of the Church's boards," and for one hundred years has been giving the church a ministry. Its field of labor has greatly broadened with the years, it being now responsible not only for student aid, ministerial and missionary, but is the agency for recruiting, as well as having general oversight in the field of what is known as "Christian Education." This covers the activities of the schools, colleges and academies, in contradistinction to "Religious Education," which is defined in the churches as having to do with the religious nurture of the young in the Sunday School, Young People's Society, and allied agencies. This latter work is carried on by the Board of Publication and Bible School Work, organized in 1854, and reorganized in 1914. The Sunday School had been adopted by the Reformed Church in the first decade of the 19th century. Prayer meetings began to be heard of at about the same time. In 1812 occurs the first mention in the Minutes of the General Synod of devotional meetings for young people. Leadership in these phases of church life, as well as evangelism, is delegated to this Board.

In 1779, while the Revolutionary War was still pending, nearly one thousand citizens of Albany, Tryon and Charlotte counties, New York, petitioned the legislature of that state for a charter for a college in the Mohawk Valley. The great majority of these were members of the Reformed Church. The request was not granted at that time, but the efforts were renewed from time to time, and a charter was given to Union College in 1795. The leading spirit in the later movement, and the one through whose efforts the college was finally located at Schenectady, N.Y., was the Reverend Dirck (Theodoric) Romeyn, pastor of the First Reformed Church at Schenectady. He was born at Hackensack, N. J., in 1744 and graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1765. He studied theology under Goetschius, was licensed and ordained by the Coetus, and served as pastor in the combined charges of Marbletown, Rochester and Warwarsing;

Upper Red Hook and Red Hook Landing; Hackensack and Schraalenbergh, and came to the First Church of Schenectady in 1784. Corwin says of him:—

> "He was of a strong and energetic mind, . . . a Boanerges in the pulpit, preaching Christ with power. He moved with dignity and grace in all circles of society.
>
> "He and Dr. Livingston were constant correspondents; . . . he was the counsellor of senators, the adviser and compeer of the warriors of the Revolution. He took the lead in his state in giving an impetus to the support and patronage of classical learning." (*Manual, 5th Ed., 469.*)

He was twice elected to the presidency of Queens College, but declined and, later, refused the presidency of the college in Schenectady which he was most instrumental in founding.

While the Reformed Church cannot claim Union College at any period of its existence as a denominational college, they have yet been closely related in all the one hundred and thirty-three years since its founding. Domine Romeyn had started an academy in Schenectady soon after settling in the First Church in 1784. This school, with its commodius building at the corner of Union and Ferry Streets, together with its endowment representing $30,000, the Church turned over to Union College when the latter received its charter. Union was the first institution to be chartered in this country that declared in its act of incorporation for complete freedom in religious thought. It was founded to answer "The loud call for men of learning to fill the several offices of the Church and State." It also provided in its charter that no one religious body should at any time have a majority in its Board of Trustees, thus becoming the first non-denominational institution in this country. It was the first college chartered west of the Hudson River. It decreed that no rule or provision of the institution should ever "exclude any person of any religious denomination from equal liberty and advantage of education or from any degrees, liberties, privileges, benefits or immunities of said college, on account of his particular tenets of religion." It adopted a seal with the mottoes, "In necessariis unitas," "In dubiis libertas," while upon

the central cross, above an ancient symbol of the Christ are the additional words, "In omnibus caritas."

"In essentials, unity,
In non-essentials, liberty,
In all things, charity."

Upwards of fifteen hundred of its graduates have followed the profession of the Christian ministry. More than one hundred of them took their theological training at the New Brunswick Seminary. Up to 1840 there were as many graduates of Union in that Seminary as of Rutgers. It has given to the faculty of the New Brunswick Seminary Professors Romeyn, the founder of Union; Ludlow, DeWitt, McClelland, Van Vranken, Van Zandt, Lansing, Mabon and Bayles. Dr. Nott, the illustrious President of Union, taught theology to men who entered the ministry of the Reformed Church. Nearly one-half of its first thirty-three trustees were, by membership or descent, of the Reformed Church—Robert, Abraham, Joseph C. (later governor of New York), and John Yates, Abraham Ten Broeck, Stephen Van Rensselaer the patroon, John Glen, Rev. Theodoric Romeyn, Nicholas Veeder, James Shuter, Isaac Vrooman, Rev. J. V. C. Romeyn, Dirck Ten Broeck, Guert Van Schoonhoven, Philip Van Rensselaer, and possibly others. One-seventh of all its graduates who entered the ministry labored in the Reformed Church. It gave Hope College its first President, Dr. Philip Phelps, Jr., besides giving presidents to sixteen other colleges in the United States. "In theological education her influence has been equally effective; three of the founders of Union Seminary were her sons; she has provided presidents for Drew, Hamilton, Hartford, Heidelberg, The Lutheran, New Brunswick and Union Seminaries, and the Philadelphia and DeLancey Divinity Schools.* She has given teachers to a dozen or more other seminaries, and Episcopal bishops in eight States and the Philippines. It has given executives to many missions and church education boards. One of the first three missionaries to leave this country was one of her sons. The founder of and

* Dailey, Corwin's Manual, V, 145.

pioneer missionary to our Arabian Mission, Reverend Dr. John G. Lansing and Reverend Dr. James Cantine, were both Union graduates.

The two colleges that are still denominational in their affiliations are Hope College at Holland, Michigan, and Central College at Pella, Iowa. Both of these are the products of a significant immigration of colonists to this country in the middle of the nineteenth century. This early immigration, with later accessions through the years since, has profoundly modified the character, ability, activities and potentialities of the Reformed Church. From a provincial church in New York and New Jersey it has become a national church with congregations in the northern tier of states from Sayville, Long Island, to Seattle on the Pacific Coast. It has representatives in eighteen states. Some day, when the various Presbyterian and Reformed bodies unite, as many in all of these denominations hope, there will be a body of Christians in this country of one name truly national in scope.

This immigration was the result of religious conditions in the Netherlands. The eighteenth century in Holland was a period of formalism in religion and marked decay of faith. The General Synod of 1816 in the Netherlands, the first since the great Synod of Dort, made certain changes in the Subscription Form for Candidates which occasioned much controversy. The Synod of 1835 did little except to add fuel to the fire. Many in the church felt that it was slipping from its old evangelical moorings. The evangelical element in the Church was led by a group of young men, among whom were Scholte, Brummelkamp and Van Velson. Another, A. C. Van Raalte, graduate of Leyden, was refused admission by the State Church. In 1836, a large body of those who had withdrawn from the State Church sent representatives to a General Synod of their own. This body ordained Van Raalte. The Separatists were persecuted and denied the right to meet for worship, but contrived to assemble in secret. Finally, because of their persecutions and a desire to enjoy full liberty of conscience as well as to relieve their great pov-

erty, many of them decided to emigrate to America. The Reverends A. C. Van Raalte and H. P. Scholte were the first to lead colonies to America. Van Raalte and his followers came by way of New York and settled in Michigan where, on the shores of Black Lake in western Michigan, they established themselves in the midst of the forest. Scholte brought his people by way of New Orleans and settled on the prairies in southeastern Iowa, calling their city Pella after a city of refuge for the persecuted Christians of Jerusalem.

It is not necessary here to dwell on the hardships which these pioneers endured. From very humble beginnings, the two colonies in Holland, Michigan and Pella, Iowa have increased and spread until now the 260 Reformed churches in the middle west are embraced in two Particular Synods and fourteen Classes in fifteen States. They are preserving the early characteristics of fidelity to the church and its services and zeal for education and missions. A large proportion of our candidates for the ministry and mission fields come from these churches. While their membership is only thirty-one percent of that of the whole denomination, they contributed in 1927 forty-four percent of the total of denominational benevolences. In both colonies it was no long time before they were thinking of education for their children. Instruction was begun at an early date in both Holland and Pella. The Michigan colony soon became affiliated with the Reformed Church, but the Pella colony retained an independent position ecclesiastically for some time later coming into fellowship. In both places it was not long before a preparatory school was functioning, and later a college. The organization of Central College at Pella, chartered as "Central University of Iowa," was effected in 1853. The charter of Hope College dates from 1866. Central College was affiliated with the Baptist denomination until 1916, when it came under the trusteeship of the Reformed Church, but Hope College has always been a Reformed Church College.

Hope College was a child of faith. The hardy pioneers, settled in the forests of Michigan, coming to



MEMORIAL CHAPEL AT HOPE COLLEGE



THE LADIES' DORMITORY
at Central College, Pella, Iowa.

America most of them without means, courageously set themselves to carry out Reformed Church ideas, prominent among which is the union of religion and education. These two have never been separated in Reformed Church thinking. "The Church in the Fort," with the schoolhouse beside it, was reproduced in the woods of Michigan. In fact they have been reproduced in almost every locality into which the Reformed Church has gone. In many of the older settlements of the older communities may still be found the church and the school house on the same plot of ground. It is an ever-living and eloquent testimony to the conviction of the fathers that these two, religion and education, which God had joined together, should not be put asunder.

As early as 1836, the Classis of Schoharie had petitioned the General Synod to establish a seminary and a college in the valley of the Mississippi. This was probably a visionary ideal. The attention of the Synod was again called to it in 1843, when the Synod resolved to create and sustain "Schools of superior grade which should afford a good and thorough education and inculcate the principles of pure morality and sound religion." In 1850, Dr. John Garretson visited the Holland colony and conferred with Dr. A. C. Van Raalte. On his return he drew up a plan for a school at Holland "To prepare the sons of the colonists from Holland for Rutgers College, and also to educate the daughters of said colonists." Mr. Walter L. Taylor became the first principal of this school. So began what Dr. Van Raalte called "My anchor of hope for this people for the future." Fifteen years later Hope College was chartered as a result of this beginning, and Dr. Philip Phelps, Jr., became the first president. During the years since it has passed through many vicissitudes. The securing of endowments and buildings has been a slow process, as with practically all such institutions. But Hope has steadily gone ahead, and is to-day rated well among the smaller colleges of the land. It is honored especially for its contribution to the Church. Of its 1216 living graduates, approximately forty-three percent have

been or are engaged in active, full-time Christian work at home or abroad. Religion and education are still bound together in its curriculum. A warmly religious atmosphere prevails on its campus. It defines its objective as "A Purposeful Christianity, a Strong, Loyal Americanism and a Vigorous, Cultured Personality."

The story of Central College is a brief one, so far as its relation with the Reformed Church is concerned. It was chartered as a Baptist institution in 1853. At the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 its student body and faculty enlisted to a man, leaving only one woman to carry on the college. But the school persisted. After the war it was rehabilitated, and survived as a Baptist college until 1916, the semi-centennial of Hope College and the Sesquicentennial of Rutgers, when it became a Reformed Church institution. It was given by the Baptists because it was in the midst of a strong Reformed constituency and because of its close proximity to another Baptist institution at Des Moines, forty-five miles away. Since becoming a Reformed Church institution, it has enjoyed a position of growing importance not only as a church institution but also as a recruiting agency in the field of leadership.

It is in the field of its leadership that we must look for the secret of a church's life and power. It is in the training of these leaders and in the institutions in which they are trained that the key to the future of the church is found. It is in the lives of these hardy men and women and in the story of the schools which they founded that we read a large part of the history of the church. The Reformed Church has grown much in the century and a half since the Revolutionary War. That growth has been made possible as it has wisely nourished schools in which its leaders have had a broad, cultural development, insuring disciplined abilities and intelligent initiative.

CHAPTER VII.

Development Through Expansion at Home and Abroad

The pastoral letter of the General Synod of 1800, referred to in the previous chapter, was hardly in the hands of the ministers and made known to the churches, before a wholesome reaction seemed to set in. The high tide of worldliness began to ebb and in its place appeared a new emphasis upon a practical piety. There were to come other times of spiritual decline, of course, in the history of the church during the century and a quarter that have elapsed since that day, but they were also to be followed by periods of gracious revival in which the Reformed Church participated. Of these, mention need be made of only the awakening under Finney, the Moody and Sankey revivals, and others.

This rising tide of religious interest manifested itself in many ways. Notable among the new activities were the rise of the prayer-meeting and devotional meetings for young people, both of which began in the first decade of the nineteenth century; the organization of the American Bible Society with its slogan, " A Bible in every home," and the American Tract Society, organized during the second decade of that century. In 1805, Mrs. George W. Bethune started a Sunday school in New York, and this example was quickly followed in many of the Reformed Churches. The organization of the Sabbath School Union in 1828 is evidence of the quickened interest in this particular phase of church activity. An elaborate plan of parochial schools was formulated in 1809, but the development of the public school system of New York State, as early as 1812, caused it to fall into abeyance. Many other evidences of a quickened church life might be

quoted. It was a period of great enthusiasm for the extension of the kingdom, at home and abroad, and steps were being taken to meet the challenge of the hour. An organization of the General Synod for more efficient and expeditious action was effected by the change from a conventional to a representative basis, and from triennial to annual meetings. The "Old Queens" building at Rutgers University was erected, and subsequently others. Union with other bodies of Christians was frequently discussed. Emphasis was laid upon a more wholesome Sabbath observance. The temperance issue emerged as a question of personal and community importance. Increasing agitation against the use of liquor and its influence on politics and government was observed. Later, the coming of the Dutch immigration to Michigan and Iowa, etc., and the German immigration to northwestern Illinois, not only provided a missionary problem, but added greatly to the strength of the church, numerically, educationally, spiritually and financially. Interest was aroused in the history of the Church. Doctors Thomas DeWitt and David D. Demarest are prominent names in this field, and Dr. Edward T. Corwin, the great historian of the denomination, began and completed the prodigious labors of research which he carried on practically all his life, and which mark his efforts in this field as almost superhuman when one considers the painstaking character of such volumes as his Manual in its various editions, the Ecclesiastical Records, Digest of Synodical Legislation, local histories, etc.

At the beginning of this period, conditions were ripe for an enlargement, intensively and extensively, in the church. The Dutch Church recognized its opportunity and, therefore, obligation. This is evidenced by the response to the pastoral letter of the Synod. This period of expansion was not slow in opening. News of the awakening of interest in missions aroused by the addresses and activities of William Carey in Great Britain in 1792 reached this country, and after a lapse of not more than four years a similar interest appeared here. One of the first results of this awakened interest in the extension of

the Kingdom was the formation of the New York Missionary Society in November, 1796, composed of members of the Presbyterian, Baptist and Reformed churches. To promote interest in the propagation of the gospel, they suggested a monthly sermon in the churches by the pastors on this topic, as well as the monthly concert of prayer for missions, and made large use of the printed page. On January 11, 1797, the Northern Missionary Society was organized at Lansingburg, N. Y., by the constituency of the same denominations in and near Albany. It is a significant fact, as the records point out, that the activities of this Northern Missionary Society resulted in an increased prosperity among the churches which were interested in it. The object of this Society was to give the Gospel to the Indians and the needy white people of the region in the western part of the State.

The fundamental activity of Christianity on its expressional side is the propagation of the Gospel and the promotion of the interests of the Kingdom of God in the world. For the sake of convenience in administration, churches are wont to organize on the "Domestic" and "Foreign" missions basis. The distinction, however, is largely an arbitrary one, and without much justification except from the point of view of administration. There is no warrant in the words or example of Jesus for such a distinction. In the beginning of our denomination's efforts it was not so. Missions and education were carried on by one and the same committee of the General Synod, and there appeared to the fathers no incongruity in so doing. There is, of course, no "Foreign" or "Domestic" field in the divine vocabulary. Missions is one task. All the references to it in the words of Jesus are cast in this universal form. "Go ye into *all the world.*" "Ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." From His mountain-peak pulpit on Olivet the Master stretched out His arms as though to claim the nations for His kingdom of love, and in one brief command to his disciples included them all. One unfortunate aspect of the division into

domestic and foreign missions has been to give some persons an opportunity to decline to contribute to the support of one on the ground that they are only interested in the other. The Church is coming to see, however, not only the unity but the compelling character of the Christian missionary project.

The development of the church at home was destined to take place within a rather limited area. Probably if early efforts had borne the fruit expected of them, the church would have spread into Canada, where several churches had been organized, including some four hundred or more families, particularly in the valley of the St. Lawrence; into West Virginia, where from Hardy County at the headwaters of the Potomac came a call for a pastor in 1791; into Kentucky, where, from Salt Lick, in 1796, came a call to the Reformed Church for a pastor, with the result that the Reverend Peter Labagh was sent to them, but considered it inadvisable to attempt to hold this congregation for the denomination because of the distance separating them from other Reformed churches; in the southern and southwestern portion of New York State and in Pennsylvania, to which visiting ministers were sent, but where settled pastors were desired, which the Reformed Church could not supply. It is quite possible that, had the denomination been able to hold these outposts, still further extension would have taken place, with results that no one can estimate. The reasons for the failure to hold them are apparent, especially in the lack of suitable pastors to shepherd these flocks until they could be welded into permanent organizations with neighbors of their own faith and order. Without such fellowship and pastoral oversight they languished.

Besides, the system of mission boards in different sections of the church, was not entirely satisfactory. Like the widows of some, as told in the Acts of the Apostles, who were neglected in the daily ministrations, so certain portions of the church complained because of a neglect of the country near them, while the Society at Albany was receiving most of the funds and spending it in their ter-

ritory. As a consequence, the General Synod of 1806 took over the work of missions, and prepared to direct it through a committee of four ministers and four elders, who were to be known as "The Standing Committee of Missions of the Reformed Dutch Church in America." This Committee was instructed to open headquarters at Albany, from which it directed the work until 1819 when, with the abandonment of the Canadian missions, it was directed to remove to New York. This new Committee began operations on the same unsatisfactory basis of work—that of yearly visits by pastors to the areas involved. Not much was accomplished. Churches wished settled pastors, not infrequent visits by a minister. One minister had been settled over three Canadian churches for a period of twenty-one years. The eleven churches in that area appealed for at least two more ministers and the formation of a classis. But it was not to be. Other areas nearer home were also pleading for spiritual oversight. Funds were low. Some of the Classes were retaining the missionary funds to be spent in their own territory. Many places in New York and New Jersey were calling for attention. The Committee had headquarters in New York until 1821. That year the Synod appointed another committee to draw up a new plan of action in caring for the growing work of the church. They had hardly organized before it was discovered that a private committee composed of Reverend Paschal N. Strong and a number of individuals had already organized themselves, in January, 1822, into "The Missionary Society of the Dutch Reformed Church." Their advent was hailed with joy. The Synod constituted them its standing committee on missions, both home and foreign, and instructed the churches to cooperate with them.

This society adopted a totally different policy from that of their predecessors. They went into the seminary and employed as many of the graduates as were willing to enter upon this type of work. They organized auxiliaries in the churches, took up collections at the monthly meetings for prayer for missions, and circulated their reports

widely throughout the churches. In 1826 they started the "Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church," which later developed into the "Christian Intelligencer." They raised much money. In the ten years of their existence they aided about one hundred churches and one hundred and thirty missionaries. But the arrangement was not entirely to the satisfaction of the Albany section, which felt that its territory was not being properly cared for. Another Northern Missionary Society, subsidiary to the larger Society, was organized. But this arrangement was not satisfactory. After much discussion, the General Synod of 1831, took over the whole matter and constituted the Board of Missions—our present Board of Domestic Missions—and committed all missionary operations to their hand.

It is readily seen, therefore, that a method of missionary operation was emerging which was destined to be followed for some years, even to this day. This program, in general, lies in the areas of organization, promotion, publicity and cultivation. The salaried executive of the Board appears at this time, instead of the voluntary worker, although there was considerable opposition to this innovation. The policy of sustaining young and struggling enterprises until they were able to support themselves was followed from the first. It is apparent that in those earlier years this sustentation was not sufficient to encourage these struggling young churches, and many of them were lost to the denomination. Had it been the policy of these various missionary committees to settle pastors over the churches, instead of having them visited once a year by a minister whose chief interests were centered in the congregation of which he was pastor, a different story might be told. The lack of available ministers probably accounted for the loss of most of these congregations in their incipiency. The minister is the key to the situation in a church. Without leadership churches languish or contract new alliances where they can secure proper spiritual leadership. Thus many Reformed congregations were lost to the Reformed Church in the middle of the nineteenth century,



DR. and MRS. JOHN SCUDDER



Entrance to Negro School of the Reformed Church, Brewton, Alabama

when the German immigration came. There were literally dozens of congregations which had been of the Reformed order in Germany. The impossibility of providing them with German-speaking pastors led them to look to other denominations for such supply. Naturally many of these Reformed congregations drifted into the denominations from which they secured their pastors.

Other problems have arisen in the course of the century. The coming of vast numbers of people from Europe in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and until checked by the restrictive immigration laws of the early part of this century, together with the massing of these people in certain congested areas of our large cities, presented a problem to the boards of domestic missions of the various denominations that required statesmanship in solving. The Reformed Church faced the situation courageously and hopefully, through its Board of Domestic Missions, ably seconded by the Women's Board of Domestic Missions, which had been organized as the Women's Executive Committee of that Board November 8, 1882, and work was soon established in a number of centers among Italian, Hungarian and Japanese peoples. Through this agency, also, the Indian tribes in the western section of our country became the concern of the Reformed Church, which had been among the first to give the gospel to their ancestors, the native Americans. Reverends Frank Hall Wright and Walter C. Roe, with many others, have wrought a work in this field which compares favorably with that done in other missions to the Indians. The mountains of the Southland, as well as the colored people

in a part of that area, have also felt the influence of the Reformed Church in quite outstanding manner in some instances. The latest move of the Domestic Missions interest is the opening of work among the Indians in the State of Chiapas, Mexico.

It has remained for the Women's Boards of Domestic and Foreign Missions to give the church an example of missionary organization for the promotion of its cause in the local congregation and the denomination, which for efficient working and general effectiveness is the standard in that field. If the whole church could be organized for the benevolent work of the denomination as the women of the churches are organized, much more could probably be accomplished than is the case now. Each church has its women's auxiliary, these societies are united in a Women's Classical Missionary Union within a Classis, which meets at least once a year and with a Classical Committee to act as a liaison officer between the auxiliaries and the Boards, and all these are headed up in the denominational organization in such manner that the last auxiliary can be reached from headquarters without delay, and any program formulated there can be relayed to the individual societies in the various congregations with despatch. These local auxiliaries and the Classical Missionary Unions are allied with both the Women's Board of Domestic Missions and the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions—the latter organized in 1875 to care for the work among women and girls on the foreign field, thus assisting Synod's Board of Foreign Missions. So promotion is easily carried on. So programs are effectively passed down to the local church. A similar type of organization among the young women of the church, through the Young Women's Department, is equally effective.

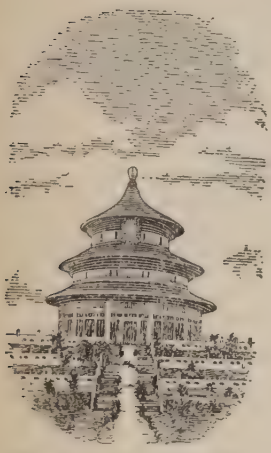
For an understanding of the spirit of the Reformed Church which has enabled it to build up a work on the foreign mission field to a magnitude quite beyond what would be expected of so small a body of believers, it will be necessary to go back much farther than the references to that project in the annals of the Church in this country.

Zeal for the propagation of the Gospel in all parts of the world is an essential element in the character of this Church, and has been so from the beginning. It was this conviction that sent Peter Richer and William Chartier, Reformed ministers from Geneva, with the advice and cooperation of Admiral Coligny of blessed Huguenot memory, to Villegagnon's colony in the harbor of Rio Janeiro, March 7, 1557, where later the first martyrs suffered death for their faith, another, John Boles, following in their train in 1567. It was the spirit of missionary enterprise that led Prince John Maurice, who was the Dutch Governor at Pernambuco, South America, in 1637, to request for the colony more ministers who could act not only as pastors to the Dutch colonists there but also as missionaries to the natives, which request brought eight such ministers to the colony that same year. Under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company two "Comforters of the Sick" had been sent to the Island of Formosa in 1624. On May 5, 1627, the first minister, George Candidius, landed, to be followed two years later by Robert Junius. By 1635, they had received seven hundred adults into church membership. It was in Formosa that Van Druyvendal, an interpreter, and Franz van der Voorn were crucified like their Saviour, "having nails driven through their hands and the calves of their legs, and another nail driven into their backs. In this sad condition they hung for three or four days and then died after meat and drink had been withheld from them all that time:* This promising Reformed Church Mission in Formosa was broken up in 1662, after thirty-five ministers had labored there for longer or shorter periods and had gathered a Christian colony of some six thousand souls. This zeal for missionary effort in foreign countries on the part of the Reformed Church exemplified itself in many other areas also. Among others, Jacob Vertrecht and Nicholas Molinaeus of Leyden served in Amboyna and on the Coromandel coast, India, respectively; John Cavallarius in the East Indies; and

* Journal of John Kruyf, kept during the siege of Zeelandia, Formosa.

Michael Clarenbeek and William Holtenus in Paliacate. It should also be reemphasized that it was the missionary motive that brought many of the first ministers to America. They came not only to serve the religious needs of the colonists, but they yearned in their own hearts, and were especially directed by their employers, to make every effort to bring the natives of this country under the influence of the Gospel and into the Church as saved souls. To this task they gave much of their strength. John Eliot is generally given the preeminence as a missionary to the Indians, and justly. But it must be remembered that at least three or four years before Eliot preached his famous sermon to the Indians near Newton in 1648, Domine Johannes Megapolensis had been preaching to the Indians in their own tongue at Albany, and many were already in attendance at his church. He mingled with them constantly. After indefatigable efforts he was able to learn their language, establishing the grammar and becoming familiar with the idioms. Then he gave them the Gospel. His labors were almost over when Eliot began in 1648. Thus the Reformed Church—using the term in the Reformation sense as well as to indicate the denomination—may justly claim the first foreign missionary as well as some of the first missionaries to the American Indians of both continents.

The first distinct reference to foreign missions in the Minutes of the General Synod is found in the record of the Synod of 1816. Prior to that time, missions had been thought of largely, so far as official action is concerned, in terms of work among the Indians of the country and in places where the new settlers were without the privilege of the Gospel. But in this year, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church presented an invitation to the General Synod of our Church "to appoint commissioners to meet commissioners of the General Assembly, for the purpose of arranging a plan for the formulation of a Society of Foreign Missions." In response to this request, the Synod appointed a commission consisting of five ministers and two elders. These met with the com-



"Temple of Heaven," China

mission appointed by the Presbyterian Church, and the result of the deliberations was the organization of the United Missionary Society, "composed of the Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed and Associated Reformed Churches and all others who may choose to join with them." The purpose of this society was expressed in its constitution presented to and approved by the General Synod of 1817, "To spread the Gospel among the Indians of North America, the inhabitants of Mexico and South America, and in other portions of the heathen and anti-Christian world." This Synod also "recommended to all ministers and churches to give the measure their active support." The committee appointed by the Reformed Church to cooperate with the committees of the other churches in furthering the plan was composed of Reverend Philip Milledoler, D.D., and Elder Stephen Van Rensselaer.

In this early action may be noted the spirit of cooperation which was to be exemplified still further in the amalgamation of this United Missionary Society with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1826, and in the united efforts with other denominations which our Board of Foreign Missions still maintains on all of the fields in which it operates. The beneficent results of this cooperation are too many for enumeration here, but two of them are missionary comity and the practical unity of the native Christian Church, areas in which the church abroad is far and away ahead of the church at home, a lesson which the home church seems very slow and apparently reluctant to learn. We note also the progressive character of the purpose of this society, "to spread the Gospel among the Indians of North America, the inhabitants of Mexico and South America, and in other por-

tions of the heathen and anti-Christian world." There are the continental, the hemispherical and the universal scopes of the kingdom conquest. It sounds almost like "Jerusalem, . . . Judea and Samaria, and the uttermost part of the earth."

This United Missionary Society continued until 1826, when it was amalgamated with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. It would seem, however, that zeal for the missionary cause was exhibited in the activities of various individuals and congregations in the denomination rather than by official action of the Board. While these carried on, sometimes very earnestly, the Board inclined to the side of conservatism. In 1826 the Synod resolved, after providing for the union with the American Board, that it be recommended to the Missionary Board of the Church that it "Consider the propriety of taking measures to begin missionary operations among the aborigines of our own country *and elsewhere.*" It is not apparent, however, that the recommendation was taken very seriously even by the succeeding Synod. The Synod of 1827 recorded its conviction as follows:

> "Your Committee are not aware what considerations led the last Synod to recommend a Foreign Mission by our Church in her individual capacity. Yet as it has been recommended, as the Board has made progress in preparatory steps, and it has gone before the churches, they feel themselves to be so delicately situated as to be unable to suggest any measures in relation to it, though as a Committee they consider it matter *of very doubtful expediency.*"

In all probability this rather timid venturing on the part of the Church into missionary activity "elsewhere," and the feeling which led the fathers to look upon such work as a "very doubtful expediency," did not arise from a lack of enthusiasm for foreign missions, but rather from a conviction that the Reformed Church with its limited constituency was not in a position to engage in such an enterprise independently of other denominations. The leaven of missionary information and enthusiasm had been working in the various congregations. The *New York Missionary Magazine,* begun in 1800, had seen a short-

lived existence of only four years, but in that time had given a wholesome publicity to the missionary project. The famous sermon by Dr. John M. Mason, entitled "Messiah's Throne," preached in 1797 to a "crowded, attentive and serious" audience, had been followed by a collection which was "large, and did great honor to the liberality of the citizens of New York." This, with another sermon delivered by Dr. John H. Livingston in 1799 on the topic "Christ is All in All," was widely circulated. Again in 1804, Dr. Livingston preached before the New York Missionary Society an even more eloquent sermon on "The Everlasting Gospel." It is claimed that this latter sermon, published and circulated widely by Samuel J. Mills, had much influence in the organization of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In 1818, the General Synod resolved that "at some convenient time during the session of every Synod, a missionary sermon be preached before Synod and a collection be taken for missionary purposes." This provision remained in force until 1860, although the practise of asking for an offering fell into abeyance before that time.

But other significant events were happening in the Church in this first two or three decades of the nineteenth century, which were destined to crystalize sentiment for foreign missions. Sons of the Reformed Church were finding their way to the foreign field and were being unusually successful in their work. Chief among these was a young physician, John Scudder. Dr. Scudder was a man of a deeply religious nature and of a warmly evangelistic tendency. He was born at Freehold, N. J., on September 3, 1793. He graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1811, and from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York in 1815. When he began the practice of medicine he sought a church home in the Reformed Church on Franklin Street, of which the Reverend Christian Bork was pastor. He was characterized to a high degree by a zeal for religious activities, and carried his Christianity with him into the sick room. Many stories are told of his evangelistic fervor and his ability to bring

Christian comfort to his patients, as well as of his skill in administering healing medicines. One day, while calling on a patient, he saw lying on a table a book entitled, "The Conversion of the World, or The Claims of Six Hundred Millions." He asked if he might take the book along, and the request was granted. He read it and re-read it. Like William Carey, who was led to go to India by a reading of "Brainerd's Diary," and Adoniram Judson, who was led to Burmah by a reading of Buchanan's "Star of the East," so this little volume became the Macedonian Call to Dr. John Scudder. He recognized it as the call of God to him to go to the foreign mission field. When the decision was finally made, he announced it with some trepidation to his wife, and to his intense joy found her ready to go with him "to the uttermost part of the earth," if so the call should be. His relatives and friends, however, were not so enthusiastic. They did everything in their power to dissuade him from his purpose, but to no avail. He applied to the American Board and was commissioned to go to India. He sailed from Boston on the eighth day of June, 1819, amid the farewells of a large body of friends, and under the gaze of many others who had come out of curiosity to see this missionary enthusiast sail away. But one of them, James Brainerd Taylor, a youth, was so impressed that he went home, retired from business and went into Christian activities.

The departure of the Reverend David Abeel for Java in 1829 was another of the incidents that aided greatly in fanning the flame of foreign missionary enthusiasm. He had been educated in our Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J. and had been pastor of our Reformed Church at Athens, N. Y. He was commissioned as a chaplain of the American Seamen's Friend's Society, and sent to China. The next year he became a missionary of the American Board in Java. His travels in the Indian Archipelago and elsewhere, his writings and his appeals to the Church while at home had much influence in inspiring those whose interest was not strong. The letters of Dr. Scudder, the success of other missions under the



TYPE OF PORTABLE CHURCH
furnished by The Board of Domestic Missions



SECOND REFORMED CHURCH, NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.
Last word in a complete Church plant

American Board, the formation of the Baptist Missionary Union, and the work of Judson and Rice were elements in the situation that could not but be provocative of an increase of zeal. It is not strange, therefore, that we find both of the Particular Synods—New York and Albany, which indeed comprised the whole church — resolving in 1831 that "The subject of foreign missions" be recommended "to the immediate and prayerful consideration of the (General) Synod." As a result of this unanimous sentiment on the part of the churches, the General Synod appointed a committee to confer with the American Board for the purpose of formulating a method by which the Reformed Church would be enabled to maintain a foreign mission of its own, and at the same time avail itself of the rich and valuable experiences of the American Board. These proposals were met in a cordial spirit by the American Board, and a plan of cooperation was arranged, presented to the General Synod at the October session in 1832, and approved by that body. Under this plan the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America was constituted, with fifteen members, nine ministers and six laymen, and this Board, with its work, was "affectionately recommended to the churches and ministers under the care of the Synod, and their prayers and exertions for the promotion and success of Foreign Missions earnestly solicited."

Thus began a period in the history of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church, in which it labored in cooperation with another denominational Board, but with much of independence of action. It was a fond dream of the day that missionary operations might be carried on in this cooperative manner to the great advantage of all. Without doubt, it is the ideal and a Christian way. Under these circumstances, the offerings of the Reformed congregations were paid in to the treasury of our Board of Foreign Missions, and by them disbursed to the American Board for the expenses of certain work, the responsibility for which the Reformed Board had assumed. Doctors Scudder in India and Abeel in China were taken over

as missionaries of this Board and Church upon the completion of negotiations for the joint activity. As time went on other obligations were added. To the credit of the Reformed Church, be it said, that, while at times its contributions may not have been sufficient to meet all its assumed obligations, over the period of years in which it enjoyed this cooperation with the American Board, it made up for these deficiencies of the lean years and more than paid what it had agreed to do. But the joint enterprise was not to continue indefinitely. It soon became apparent to the leaders that, while there were great advantages in the plan, there were also some serious disadvantages. These did not arise from a spirit of sectarianism, but rather as a natural result of a lack of definite responsibility of such propotions as to constitute a challenge to the complete effort and full services of the constituency of the Reformed Church, or to develop a sense of full responsibility for the projects in hand. Therefore, in order to challenge the full capacity of the Reformed congregations for such service, to conserve the advantages of the pressure of full responsibility, and to develop a larger program than the cooperative efforts seemed able to call out, it was earnestly recommended to the General Synod of 1856 by the Board of Foreign Missions "that the General Synod conduct their Foreign Missions in an independent manner." This step was taken by the Synod of 1857, and "The history of the Board and its Missions, in succeeding years, shows how amply, in the providence of God, the hopes of that day have been realized, and the wisdom vindicated." *

The period of cooperation with the American Board saw not only beginnings but a considerable expansion of the work in both of the missions taken over by the Reformed Board on its organization in 1832. Dr. John Scudder had been removed from Ceylon to the territory of Madras, where he was later joined by three of his sons, Henry Martyn, William W. and Joseph. Work was begun among the Tamil people in 1836. In 1853 the Arcot

* A Century of Missions, *Cobb.*

Mission was constituted and the Classis of Arcot was organized in 1854. The stations of Arni, Chittoor, Coonoor and Vellore were all occupied prior to 1857. Dr. David Abeel had established himself at Borneo, to which nine missionaries in all were sent prior to its discontinuance in 1849. The expected advantages of a cooperation with the Netherlands Missionary Society in a work in that Dutch possession did not materialize, and the missionaries were gradually withdrawn, until finally the Reverend William H. Steele, D.D., was the only one remaining, and he was recalled for the purpose of recruiting his health. Great disappointment was felt at the closing of this mission, but the way had providentially opened for the beginning of work in China, when the close of the "Opium War" opened five Chinese ports to foreign trade and residence, and hither went Dr. Abeel, followed later by Messrs. Doty and Pohlman. With the coming of Dr. Abeel in 1842 the Amoy Mission was constituted. The first converts were baptized in 1846 by Mr. Pohlman. A church was completely organized with a consistory by 1856. The first church building in China for the exclusive use of native Christians was built in Amoy and is still in use. When the Board of Foreign Missions became independent in 1857, these two missions, Arcot and Amoy, came under the care of the Reformed Board. With the Arcot Mission were received five missionaries and their wives, and one unmarried woman; five churches with 117 members, five native helpers, eight schoolmasters and four colporteurs.

In 1858, the newly constituted Board, now wholly independent of alliance with any other, took another decided step forward when it resolved informally "to take the responsibility to send any qualified young men (to the Arcot or Amoy fields) who might offer themselves for this work." It was a daring adventure of faith quite different from the timid action of 1827 and was soon to be tested. By the opening of Japan it was made apparent to the Board that there would be a call for workers in that portion of the world. The Rev. E. W. Syle and Dr. S. Wells Williams, missionaries in China, had agreed to write let-

ters to the Presbyterian, Episcopal and Reformed Churches in this country, asking them to send missionaries to Japan. From other sources, also, came this appeal. It was was thought that missionaries of the Reformed Church would be received by the Japanese people, if not with more favor than those of others, at least with less disfavor, because of the courtesies extended to the Dutch by the Japanese at Nagasaki. Providentially the way opened to send the Reverend Samuel R. Brown and his wife and daughter. He had been a teacher at Canton, China, but was then a pastor at Owasco Outlet, N. Y. His support was guaranteed for five years by a New York elder, Mr. Thomas C. Doremus, and another in the same South Church agreed to assume similar support of a second. With this encouragement the Church resolved upon the support of a third, and in May, 1859, the Reverends Samuel R. Brown and Guido F. Verbeck, and Mr. D. D. Simmons, M.D., sailed for Japan. Doctors Brown and Simmons proceeded to Yokohama, and Doctor Verbeck to Nagasaki. Thus began that work in the Sunrise Kingdom which has had such important bearings on the life of that great empire.

In 1889, work among the Moslems of Arabia was instituted. The first missionaries were the Reverends James Cantine, D.D. and Samuel M. Zwemer, D.D. A group of students in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J., had long felt the burden of the neglect of the Islamic World in the prosecution of the Christian missionary project, and set themselves, under the leadership of Professor J. G. Lansing, D.D., who had been born in Damascus, to study the problem and, if the way were opened in the providence of God, to offer themselves for the development and prosecution of such an enterprise. The group consisted, besides Prof. Lansing, of James Cantine, Philip T. Phelps and Samuel M. Zwemer. There was little to encourage them from the point of view of the Board of Foreign Missions, for this Board, while sympathetic to any movement with the objective of making Christ better known to the non-Christian world, was nevertheless already carrying all the

financial load which it was capable of bearing. When, therefore, the determination of these young men to engage in such a mission was seemingly fixed, permission was given by the Church, provided it could be financed in such manner that there might be no call upon the funds of the Board or jeopardizing of their receipts. The movement was evidently under the leadership of the Spirit of God, and the way opened. A method of financing the mission for five years by private syndicates of givers and individuals was devised. In 1894, the Arabian Mission came under the direct care of the Board of Foreign Missions, but it was not until 1925 that it was finally amalgamated with that Board. It is now an integral part of the missionary program.

It would be impossible in the short space of this volume to present in any adequate manner the full history of these missionary projects of our Church. Nor is it possible to assess, in any adequate way, the values which they have developed and conserved for human society in various parts of the world. The world will hardly stop to analyze the amazing impact for good which has been made upon India, for example, by families like the Scudders, Chamberlains, Wyckoffs and others. Only in eternity will it be determined with any degree of accuracy what it has meant for Doctor John Scudder to see his seven sons, eleven grandchildren, and five great-grandchildren follow him in the healing, teaching and evangelistic ministry to the people to whom he gave his life. It was reckoned in 1919, the one hundredth anniversary of the sailing of Dr. John Scudder, that this family had given one thousand years of service to the Arcot Mission. Who shall say what forces have been set to work in South China by those who bore the names of Abeel, Doty, Pohlman, Talmage, Fagg and others? Japan may forget the names but she can never forget the labors of such men as "Verbeck of Japan," Brown, Ballagh, and others like them, for their labors are indelibly wrought into the educational, social and religious systems of that country. And Arabia will yet rise up and call blessed the Cantines and the Zwemers, Bennett and

Thoms, Stone and Wiersum and their companions in labor.

Figures are not always a satisfactory method of recording growth, but they sometimes tell an interesting story. When the conclusion of the first century of foreign missionary effort on the part of the Reformed Church was celebrated in 1896, it was reported that during the one hundred years 196 missionaries had been connected with the Board of Foreign Missions, of whom 82 were men and 114 women. Statistics show that with the passing of an additional 32 years the total number of missionaries connected with the Board of Foreign Missions from the beginning is 460, of whom 190 have been men and 270 women. Seventeen of these served in Borneo, 128 in China, 137 in India, 111 in Japan and 67 in Arabia. The total receipts of the Board of Foreign Missions and the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions in 1927 were $587,010.

The progress of the Board of Domestic Missions may be stated with almost equal numerical exactness. The first Annual Report of the Board of Missions to the General Synod of 1832 showed that the Board had disbursed that year $5,434.00, giving aid to thirty struggling congregations and organizing eight new churches. The 1927 Report of the Board of Domestic Missions (including the Women's Board of Domestic Missions) showed a total disbursement of $452,341.00. This was expended in supplements to the salaries of 202 pastors in 228 churches; the payment of the salaries of 20 Classical Missionaries and 27 student workers; caring for the expenses of conducting 26 mission schools for Indians, Mountaineers, Japanese, Italians, Hungarians, Negroes and Mexicans; the employment of 85 mission workers and the aiding of 40 churches in building enterprises to the extent of some $91,000.00. Seven new missions were established and eight new churches organized in 1927.

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600–800 Gospel preached in the Netherlands.

800–1100 Empire of Charlemagne, Norse invasions and rise of feudalism.

1100–1300 Era of Crusades.
First city charter (Middleburg) 1217.

1423 Invention of printing, by Lawrenz Coster.

1477 Bible is printed in Dutch.
Granting of the "Groot Priviligie."

1500–1648 Reformation period.
Charles V, ruler of the Netherlands, 1519-1555.
First edict of Charles V against heresy, 1521.
First martyrs of the Reformation burned at Brussels, 1523.
Calvin's "Institutes" 1536.
William of Orange made Stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland, 1559.
Synod of Antwerp adopts the Belgic Confession and Heidelberg Catechism as standards of doctrine, 1566.
Reformed Church established in Holland and Zeeland, 1576.
SYNOD OF DORDRECHT, 1578.
The Union of Utrecht, 1579.
Dutch "Declaration of Independence," 1581.
Minutes of Classis of Amsterdam begin, 1582.
Dutch East India Company chartered, 1602.
Henry Hudson discovers the Hudson River, 1609.
Pilgrim Fathers in Holland, 1610-1655.
Dutch West India Company formed, 1621.

1620 English Puritans in Holland, not being allowed to settle in New Netherland, settle in New England.

1624 Thirty families, mostly Walloons, settle in New Netherland.

1626 Peter Minuit, Director-General.
Purchases Manhattan Island for the equivalent of $24.

1628 Coming of Reverend Jonas Michaelius and organization of the first Reformed Church on the continent of America.

1633(?) Collegiate School organized, Adam Roelandsen the first Schoolmaster.

1639 Records of Collegiate Church, New York, begin.

1642 Reformed Church organized at Fort Orange, Reverend Johannes Megapolensis, pastor.

1659 Church at Esopus (Kingston) organized.

1660 Churches organized at Bergen, N. J., Brooklyn, Harlem. Stuyvesant's Bouwerie and St. Thomas, V. I.

1662 Domine Polhemus of Brooklyn, suggests the formation of an American Classis.
Agreement to allow Congregationalists to settle in New Netherland.

1664 New Netherland taken by English fleet and name changed to New York.

1664–1693 English Episcopal and French Huguenot services allowed to be held in the Church in The Fort.

1673 New York retaken by the Dutch and renamed New Orange.

1679 Dutch ministers, on recommendation of Governor Andros, ordain Peter Tesschenmacker.

1681 Year of The Great Comet—"Ye Dreadful Comett Starr," with a "very fiery tail." Day of repentance appointed for the churches.

1683 Jesuits open a Latin School and the bell of the Reformed Church is rung in celebration of it.
Charter of Liberties passed by the New York Assembly giving entire liberty of conscience to all Christians.

1686 Oldest pastor's handbook in America, kept by Domine Selyns, shows 560 members of the New York Church.
Coming of many French Huguenots, owing to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

1696 The Dutch Church of New York secures a royal charter.

1709 Arrival of 2300 Palatines to settle in the Hudson, Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys.

1720 Domine Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen labors in New Jersey. Prominent in "Great Awakening."

1727 Governor Burnet presents the New Church in New York with an organ—the first in a Dutch Church in America.

1730 David Abeel advocates preaching in English.

1737 First meeting of the "Coetus."

1754 Benjamin Franklin conducts his experiments in electricity in the tower of the Middle Dutch Church, Nassau and Cedar Streets, New York.

1755 Domine Theodore Frelinghuysen makes tour of the churches of the Hudson Valley and New Jersey in the interest of an Academy and College.

1764 Reverend Archibald Laidlie, first preacher in the Dutch Church using the English language.

1766 Queen's (Rutgers) College chartered.

1770 Reverend John H. Livingston, D.D., arrives from Holland, the second English-speaking minister of the Dutch Church.

1771 "Plan of Union" of the Dutch churches in America brought from Holland and presented by Dr. Livingston, approved and adopted by the churches.

1775 Plan for a Widows' Fund suggested.

1784 Dr. Livingston and Dr. Hermanus Meyer inducted into office as Professors of Theology and Sacred Languages respectively.

1785 First Sunday School conducted in New York with Peter Cooper as Superintendent.

1792 Constitution of the Reformed Church adopted.

1795 Union College chartered.

1796 and 1797 New York Missionary Society and Northern Missionary Society organized.

1804 Sarah De Peyster leaves the first legacy for the benevolent work of the Reformed Church.

1814 Reverend Elias Van Bunschooten makes the first bequest for education of theological students.

1816 American Bible Society is founded.
United Missionary Society is organized.

1818 First Savings Bank is opened in New York City by Abraham Van Nest of the Dutch Church. First year's deposits $213,000.00

1819 Dr. John Scudder commissioned by the American Board as missionary to Ceylon.

1822 Missionary Society of the Reformed Dutch Church organized.

1826 Home Mission Society organized in New York City by several denominations.

1828 Board of Education organized by private individuals in New York City. Adopted by the General Synod, 1831.

1829 Reverend David Abeel becomes missionary of the American Board in China.
The Christian Intelligencer founded.

1831 Board of Domestic Missions constituted.

1832 Board of Foreign Missions constituted.

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1842 Amoy Mission established.

1846–8 New immigration of Hollanders to Michigan and Iowa.

1854 Board of Publication constituted.

1856 Particular Synod of Chicago formed.

1857 Discovery of letter of Reverend Jonas Michaelius written in 1628.
Separation of the Board of Foreign Missions from the American Board.

1859 Japan Mission organized.

1866 Hope College chartered.

1875 Woman's Board of Foreign Missions organized.

1882 Women's Executive Committee of the Board of Domestic Missions organized.

1889 The Arabian Mission founded.

1892 Denominational Headquarters, 25 East 22nd Street, New York City, purchased.

1900 Mission work in the mountains of Kentucky started.

1903 Mission work among negroes of the South inaugurated.

1907 Commission on Religious Education, first among the denominations, appointed.

1916 Central College, Pella, Iowa, adopted by the denomination.

1918 Five-Year Progress Campaign inaugurated.
Drive for Ministers' Fund endowment of $1,000,000 started.

1919 Particular Synod of Iowa constituted.

1925 Woman's Board of Foreign Missions celebrates its Jubilee with special gift of $128,633.82.
Arabian Mission amalgamated with the Board of Foreign Missions.

1928 TERCENTENARY YEAR.

Appendix

In order to meet the need and desire for a history of the Reformed Church that may be used as a study-book for classes interested in this subject, it has been thought best to append a series of studies suggested by the materials of the various chapters. These are by no means exhaustive and may be supplemented by other topics that may suggest themselves to leaders of such groups. No suggestions are made as to method to be followed. This, again, is left to the initiative of the leader and the group.

CHAPTER I.

Topics for further study and report.

1. Immigrations that have affected the growth and influence of the Reformed Church in America.
2. Relation of the Renaissance and the Reformation.
3. The divisions of Protestantism.
4. The reclamation program of The Netherlands.
5. Charlemagne and his rule.
6. Feudalism.
7. The invention of printing from movable type and its effect upon human civilization.
8. Relation of our Declaration of Independence to the "Groot Priviligie."
9. The Spanish Inquisition.
10. Early missionaries to northwestern Europe.
11. Charles V and Philip II of Spain.
12. Reformed Church emblems.

CHAPTER II.

Topics for further study and report.

1. The Dutch Colonial policy of the 16th and 17th centuries, and the significance for the colony of New Netherland.
2. University education at Leyden in the latter part of the 16th and the first part of the 17th century, particularly for those planning to enter the work of the ministry.
3. The various church buildings and congregations of the Collegiate Church of New York City during the last three hundred years.
4. Treatment of the American Indians by the Dutch—Contrast between that of Director Kieft and that in the Albany region

under Van Rensselaer and Van Curler—with the reactions of the natives.
5. Dutch naval supremacy in the last half of the 17th century and the victories of Admiral Tromp and others.
6. Religious toleration in the colony of New Netherland and New York—Relation of the English governors to toleration.
7. What constitutes a fitting order for a service of worship, and in how far does the Reformed Church order as suggested in our Liturgy meet the needs of worship?

CHAPTER III.

Topics for further study and report.

1. Periods of history marked by a decline in piety and other periods marked by a revival of religious interest—what is the relation between them?
2. Methods of church financing, viewed from the historical standpoint. What have they been and what was the strength or weakness of each?
3. In how far was the decline of piety in the New York churches in this period responsible for the lack of a sufficient number of suitable ministers? Or, was the latter the cause of the former?
4. The English governors of New York and their difficult position.
5. How account for the persistence of the New York colonists in continually demanding a voice in the government of the colony?
6. What is the position of the Church with reference to situations that arise in a State or community that set classes of society in more or less of opposition to each other?
7. Are monopolies and combinations of "Big Business" necessarily hostile to the interests of society in general?
8. Would the interests of the Kingdom of God be advanced by an organic union of all denominations of Christians?

CHAPTER IV.

Topics for further study and report.

1. Ecclesiastical controversies and their effects upon the Church. How much has controversy benefited the Church—e. g., the bitter struggle of the Reformation period?
2. Does a period of great prosperity produce an indifference to religion, and does a revival of religion necessarily follow a period of adversity?
3. Do you have a language-problem in your church?
4. The "Great Awakening."
5. What was there in the preaching of Jonathan Edwards that accounted for his power and influence over the men of his day?
6. What relation is there, if any, between the revival during the Great Awakening and the movement to establish colleges in America?

7. What underlying principles were the basis of the opposition of the New York ministers to Frelinghuysen's innovations, and how would you justify either him or them in the positions which they took respectively?
8. What were the causes of the Coetus-Conferentie controversy?
9. The life and works of Dr. John H. Livingston.

CHAPTER V.

Topics for further study and report.

1. The general attitudes of the New York and New Jersey colonists and their share of responsibility for the Revolution.
2. Brant and his activities.
3. Why is the Battle of Saratoga called one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world?
4. The churches established by the Palatines, and their contribution to American independence.
5. In what respects is the attitude of the churches toward war today different from that of former days?
6. The history and character of the Heidelberg Catechism.
7. Is the Heidelberg Catechism still taught to the children of your church, as a catechism? If so, on what grounds do you justify the use of it? If not, what arguments would you advance for the reinstatement of it?
8. The benevolent boards of the Church—their spheres of activity —limitations—opportunities.

CHAPTER VI.

Topics for further study and report.

1. What is the effect of war upon religious interest and church activities? Illustrate by the conditions in the churches following upon the various wars in which our country has engaged. Why does war so often have a depressing effect upon religious interest?
2. The relation of education and religion—Can the State teach religion? Should the teaching of religion be a part of the public school program?
3. The lives and works of the Frelinghuysens.
4. On what grounds would you demand a high educational standard in the training of ministers? Would it be to the interest of the Kingdom to ordain men without the usual training in order to supply the weaker churches in the smaller and outlying communities?
5. In what way was it inevitable that the Church in America should be independent of ecclesiastical control from abroad, and what were the steps that led up to the independence of the Reformed Church?

6. The contributions which our various educational institutions have made to the life of the church.
7. How do you account for the fact that, while many of the colleges of this country were chartered primarily to provide ministers for the churches, in many of them to-day only a very small percentage of the graduates now enter that profession?
8. What is the relation of the Board of Education to the colleges, academies and seminaries?

CHAPTER VII.

Topics for further study and report.

1. The history of the Sunday School movement.
2. What are the arguments *pro* and *con* on the subject of the parochial school?
3. Does a high degree of missionary enthusiasm in a congregation contribute to the general prosperity of that congregation, or vice versa?
4. In what ways did the flood of immigration to this country during the latter part of the 19th century, etc., affect the churches of the country?
5. A more detailed study of our missions among the Indians, in the South, and in Mexico.
6. History of the Reformed Missions in South America. (See "Famous Missionaries of the Reformed Church"—*Good.)*
7. Cooperation among the Boards of Foreign Missions of the various denominations in administration at the home base and on the field. A similar study of cooperation among Boards of Domestic Missions.
8. More intimate studies of each of our mission fields—India, China, Japan, Arabia and Mesopotamia.

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